Daily Report

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Council of Ministers Takes Food Supply Measures

AU1803202091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] The Council of Ministers met today, 18 March 1991. At this meeting, the government was informed at length by the chairmen of the groups created under the Council of Ministers about the measures taken to improve supplies for the people. The Council of Ministers stressed that the ministries' most important goals under the current circumstances are to take urgent measures to prevent a further decline in production in different branches and sectors of the economy, to put the market under total control, to prevent the activities of speculators, to hasten and increase work to cut administrative expenditure, and to improve the transportation situation.

The Council of Ministers, after being informed of the present situation and the short-term prospects for the people's supply of bread, flour, and their by-products, oil, rice, milk and its by-products, soap, etc., observed that in spite of good efforts on the part of some ministries—such as those of food, agriculture, domestic retail trade, mining, and energy—there is still not the necessary concentration on producing, distributing, and controlling the full range of products. It instructed the Ministry of Finance to hasten its organization of the Financial Police and to consolidate it in every district. The government instructed the People's Police to enforce general control alongside the Financial Police, to stabilize the delivery of goods to the market and to stop the activities of wheeler-dealers who have added to the problems of the market under our economy's present conditions.

After being informed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the 50-percent reduction in the personnel of our diplomatic missions, the government approved the steps taken by this ministry to hasten the implementation of this measure.

The Council of Ministers viewed with particular concern the current situation in vegetable and dairy production. The government stressed that in the present situation the attention of working people in agriculture, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Executive Committees of District People's Councils, and the managing boards of agricultural enterprises must concentrate on work and daily production, especially in stockraising. To improve supplies of milk and its by-products, meat, vegetables, potatoes, and beans to workers in agricultural enterprises, which have been and remain below the prescribed national levels, the government instructed the Ministry of Agriculture and the State Planning Commission, together with the Executive Committees of the District People's Councils, to solve immediately in a planned way the problem of supplies for working people in agricultural enterprises. This problem must be solved by the agricultural enterprises themselves, by using the necessary area of land for vegetables, potatoes, beans, and forage crops. The milk supply should be secured from the concentrated herds and the small herds which will be attached to them in order to meet the production plan.

Agricultural and animal products will be sold to the working people in the agricultural enterprises at retail prices without any profit for the retail network—i.e. 20 percent lower.

In the context of the economic reform for a fuller and more long-term solution of the problem of supplies for working people in agricultural enterprises, the Council of Ministers entrusted the Ministry of Agriculture, together with the Committee for Economic Reorganization, to immediately carry out and submit a special study on a balanced solution of the relationship between collective and personal property, which will not confuse people and the present structure of production, will not destroy the cooperativist system, and will create opportunities to overcome the situation created by absenteeism and the losses and damage observed in the agricultural sector. These solutions must be discussed at length with the masses of cooperativists and working people in agriculture, who know better than anyone else how to protect their essential interests in connection with property, work, and their common lives.

At its meeting today, the Council of Ministers also approved a series of decrees and examined some draft decrees that were sent to the Presidium of the People's Assembly for approval.

Would-Be Emigres Cause 'Serious Trouble'

AU1803204091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Statement issued by the Interior Ministry in Tirana on 18 March]

[Text] Although it has been made clear to the public that the rumors circulating about the arrival of ferries at Durres to receive all those who wish to go abroad are total lies, various groups of people again headed for Durres on 18 March 1991, ignoring the explanations that have been provided. This unjustifiable and unreasonable behavior is causing serious trouble for the forces of order and the Army in the port of Durres, hampering them in the performance of their duty.

We inform all citizens that the forces for the maintenance of order and the Army have taken measures to respond by all means to any behavior that may hinder them in the performance of their duties.

Ships, 150 Refugees Return From Italy

AU1803215491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Some of our ships have returned from Italy. Some Albanian freighters and fishing boats, which left for Italy with refugees, returned to the port of Durres yesterday

evening and today. They were released by the Italian authorities as a result of talks conducted with the delegation of the Executive Committee of the Durres District People's Council. Many of these ships were still not unloaded or were technically defective before they embarked for Italy. For instance, the Iliria was laden with about 1,000 tonnes of soap and plastic sheeting for greenhouses. The Sazani had on board one-half of its cargo of basketware for export which it was to have taken to the port of Ravenna in Italy. The Butrinti, Bashtova, and Ismet Zhura were laden with hundreds of tonnes of chemicals, raw materials for the agricultural machinery industry, engineering equipment, and other imported goods.

One hundred and fifty people who fled two weeks ago also returned on the Iliria yesterday evening at their own request.

Other ships left Italy today on the return voyage to Durres—the Dyrahu, and the Currila, and two Vlore fishing boats. All these ships, although they have completed their voyages and have entered the port of Durres, are out of commission and cannot be unloaded or loaded. Urgent measures are being taken to disinfect and repair them, so that the cargoes may be unloaded as soon as possible, and the ships brought back to use. Meanwhile, work is continuing on other ships in the port, which are mainly laden with foodstuffs such as wheat, sugar, beans, etc.

Membership in PPSh Reportedly Increasing

AU1803214491 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Mar 91 p 1

[Luan Rama report: "What Is the Truth?..."]

[Text] A foreign journalist who recently visited our country, talking to an Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] leader, asked among other things:

I have heard that about 20,000 communists have left the PPSh in recent days. Is this true?!...

To inform our public and to prevent such reports, which aim to belittle and divide the PPSh from taking root, we publish the reply the journalist in question received. In recent months (mainly between last December and 5 March this year), 350 people in the entire country have handed in their PPSh membership cards. Of these, 197 were from Tirana District. Only three communists in all the party organizations in the northeast have handed in their cards. Meanwhile, it is a very significant fact that in the same period—i.e. since last December—3,027 young people have been admitted into the ranks of the PPSh, 213 of them in Tirana District. I do not think there is any need for further comment....

PDSh Issues Electoral Campaign Statement

AU1703202491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] On the occasion of the announcement of its candidates for deputies to the People's Assembly, the Managing Commission of the Democratic Party [PDSh] issued a statement that, among other things, expresses the commitment of its members and supporters to go to the 31 March elections in calm, dignity, and social stability. In its electoral activity, the PDSh will make efforts to serve stability and to make the electorate aware of its program.

The statement reemphasizes the PDSh's demands for the depoliticization of the Army, the organizations for the maintenance of order, and the judiciary, and for impartiality on the part of the radio and television during the electoral campaign.

The PDSh thinks that young people over 18 should be enrolled on electoral registers at their places of residence. At the same time, it expresses the wish that emigrants should be able to take part in the elections.

'Party of National Unity' Created

AU1603202991 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] On 15 March 1991, the Ministry of Justice approved the application of the Initiating Commission for the creation of the Party of National Unity [Partia e Unitetit Kombetar], after observing that its application, program, statute and other attached documents are in conformity with the Constitution and Decree No. 7,442, dated 17 December 1990, on the creation of political organizations and associations.

Cameria Association Holds Conference in Tirana

AU1803141691 Tirana ATA in English 1024 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 18—A conference of "Cameria" Patriotic Political Association was organized in the Palace of Culture in Tirana on March 17.

Besides delegates from all the branches of the association in the district, attending as guests were also historians, linguists, archaeologists, reporters of the press organs, the Albanian Telegraphic Agency, Radio-Television, etc.

In the name of the Initiating Commission for the creation of "Cameria" Political Patriotic Association spoke Abaz Dojaka, member of this Commission. He dwelt among others in the history of Cameria and its population, also pointing to the aim of the creation of the association. He said it aims at protecting the rights of this population, to make known its problem at home and abroad, based on the UN Charter, the documents of the CSCE and especially on the International Forum of Helsinki. He stressed also the

need of recording the history and cultural traditions of the population of Cameria, as well as the tasks of the association for the future.

The other discussions laid the stress on the fact that the population of Cameria, although martyrized and driven away from its territories, has been vital, has preserved its cultural traditions, and this association will further promote them through its activity, etc.

At the end, the conference elected the General Council with Fadil Zeqiri as chairman, whereas the Council elected its Presidency with Abaz Dojaka as chairman.

Kapllani Attends U.S. State Department Ceremony

AU1803141091 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 18 (ATA)—Following the ceremony of signing of the memorandum on understanding between the governments of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the U.S.A. for the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations, the foreign minister attended the ceremony organized in the Treaties' Hall of the State Department. Attending were representatives of the Senate and U.S. Congress, top officials of the State Department, representatives of the press, etc. On this occasion the U.S. Secretary of State Raymond Seitz and foreign minister exchanged toasts.

Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani contacted with U.S. political personalities as Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Foreign Commission of the U.S. Senate; Senator Larry Pressler; Congressman Tom Lantos, etc.

Following the activities and meetings in Washington, the foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, left for New York.

Hosts Reception in New York

AU1803141491 Tirana ATA in English 0903 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 18 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, gave a reception on March 16 in the evening at the seat of the Albanian Mission in the UNO [United Nations Organization] in New York on occasion of the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations between Albania and the U.S.A.

Attending the reception were the permanent representative of the United States in the UNO, Ambassador Thomas Pickering; the permanent deputy representative of this mission, Ambassador Alexander Watson, as well as other U.S. diplomats. In the name of the UN Secretary General attending the reception was the chief of the protocol Allen Dick; the vice secretary general for political affairs and the security council Vasiliy Safronchuk; the assistant secretary general of the UNO and executive vice director of the UNFPA [UN Fund for Population Activities] Joep van Arendonk, etc. Present were also distinguished political, economic and social figures of various American institutions, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, etc.

Participating were also a great number of Albanians residing in New York, New Jersey, Boston, Worcester, Detroit. Among them was also the distinguished patriot Antoni Athanas; the chairman of "Naim Frasheri" branch of the patriotic society "Shqiperia e Lire" for New York, Reis Bega; the chairwoman of "Perparimi" Womens' Society for New York, Besije Veseli, etc.

Appreciating this important event, many Albanian-American compatriots said that the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations between Albania and the U.S.A. is an historic moment they have long since desired. Many of them said that following the reestablishment of these relations, possibilities are created more than ever for the Albanian-American community to contribute directly and concretely to assist the homeland of their origin. They assessed the positive democratic processes in our country, which are also considered as important factors to overcome the difficulties and expressed their full conviction that our people as always will know how to show the world that it is an ancient nation with deep roots in the Balkans and Europe, that may progress and flourish in peace and harmony as the other civilized nations.

Reporters of different organs of the U.S. press and the international one, attending the reception, interviewed our foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, and the U.S. ambassador, Thomas Pickering.

In the interview with the known TV station, U.S. News, Comrade Muhamet Kapllani answered the questions on the importance of the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations between Albania and the U.S. and their perspective, the role the Albanian-American community plays as a bridge between our two countries, on the democratic process and pluralist elections of March 31, the further activation of Albania on the international arena and UNO.

In his interview the permanent representative of the U.S. Mission at the UNO Pickering said that the presence of all these people in the Albanian mission today and their enthusiasm create the conviction that possibilities exist for our two countries to establish stable relations. In my opinion the Albanian-American community is a very reliable support and this is something very good. Possibilities are created for better ties between the U.S.A. and Albania and the door is open to positive relations and greater improvements. Speaking on the process of democratization in our country, Ambassador Pickering said that we ourselves have experienced such a process in our country. We would like it be as much successful as possible in Albania too. A successful process of democratization, which will start with March 31 elections, will be one of the factors for strengthening the relations between our two countries. As for the question of the

opening of embassies in our capitals, the U.S. ambassador answered: "I think it will be a race between our two countries who will be the first to open the embassy in the respective capitals."

Foreign Ministry Hails U.S. Relations

AU1803193591 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] A news conference was organized at the Foreign Ministry today with representatives of the Albanian and foreign press. Foreign Ministry Spokesman Sazan Bejo stressed among other things that the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between our country and the United States has met a wide response in the U.S. propaganda media. This event is considered to be of special importance in the history of relations between our two countries, because it opens broad horizons for cooperation in many fields, including cultural and humanitarian spheres.

U.S. personalities have welcomed the normalization of relations. As we have heard, the spokesman emphasized, the reestablishment of relations between the two countries was also welcomed by the U.S. Commission for Security and Cooperation, known as the Helsinki Commission, its co-chairmen De Concini and Hoyer, etc. At the reception given by our foreign minister in New York, the U.S. representative at the United Nations—the well-known political personality Thomas Pickering—called this a welcome event that opens broad fields for cooperation between the two countries. This step has drawn a special response from the Albanian community, which is of a substantial size and is strongly tied with and well integrated in the social and economic life of the United States. At the reception, well-known Albanian personalities such as Antony Athanas and [name indistinct] expressed their enthusiasm at the opening of a new phase in the history of Albanian-U.S. relations. The powerful Albanian-American colony wishes to make a material contribution in this difficult transition period. We, they say, welcome the reestablishment of diplomatic relations, and hope that they will progress in the mutual interests of both our peoples.

Spokesman Sazan Bejo also stressed, regarding the problems of the Albanian refugees in Italy, that an increasing number are returning home, and several other groups are preparing to return. He stated that those who have returned have been reunited with their families and have suffered no consequences. The spokesman also said that, as earnest of the recently-agreed Italian aid, the Italian side will send tomorrow the first shipment in its 10 billion lira aid program.

Foreign Ministry spokesman also reported on the forthcoming visit of an Italian delegation headed by Mr. Graffini, which will conduct talks with the Albanian side on defining the future fields of cooperation between Italy and Albania.

The journalists present at this news conference asked various questions.

UN Delegation Continues Visit; Meets Officials

Received by Premier Nano

AU1503145891 Tirana ATA in English 0902 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 15 (ATA)—Fatos Nano, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Stefano de M ura, special envoy of the UN secretary general; Sergio V eiro de Mello, director of relations with foriegn countries at the Supreme Commissariat of the UNO [United Nations Organization] for Refugees, and Mirza Hussain Khan, chief of the Sector for South Eastern Europe at the Supreme Commissariat of the UNO for Refugees [names as received].

In the course of the meeting, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, Premier Fatos Nano expressed the thanks of the Albanian Government for the UN secretary general who sent here the group headed by Mr. de Mistura, as well as its gratitude for the good work and contribution of the UN mission in Albania and for the constructive contribution with the respective Albanian authorities.

The reception was also attended by Sokrat Plaka, deputy foreign minister.

Communique Issued After Visit

AU1503150291 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 15 (ATA)—From March 11 to 15, at the invitation of the Albanian Government a delegation sent by the UN secretary general visited Albania.

The delegation was composed of Mr. Stefano de Mistura, representative of the secretary general; Mr. Sergio Vieiro de Mello, director of foreign relations at the UN High Commissariat for Refugees; and by Mr. Hussain Khan, chief of the Southeastern European Section at the UN High Commissariat for Refugees.

The delegation talked with high-ranking Albanian authorities, including the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Fatos Nano; the minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani; the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka; the deputy minister of the interior, Vehip Proda, as well as with functionaries of these two ministries. They met also with a number of Albanian citizens.

The Albanian party made a brief expose of the actual internal situation of the country, of the measures adopted for the further and irreversible democratization of all aspects of the society and life in Albania. The delegation of the United Nations wrote down information on this question to convey them to the UN secretary

general. The Albanian party reported that a series of foreign parliamentary government and nongovernment delegations and a considerable number of foreign journalists have been invited to attend the March 31, 1991 election as observers.

On the request of the Albanian authorities, the UN secretary general accepted to put at Albania's disposal a service of technical counselors for the organisation of democratic elections.

Both parties discussed on questions related to the recent exodus of Albanian citizens to the neighbouring countries.

The Albanian party pointed out that the reasons causing this fleeing are related to the economic difficulties Albania is actually undergoing as well as to the false illusions related to the possibilities of finding shelter and work abroad through irregular ways.

The Albanian party voiced its worry regarding the illegal character of these departures, and laid the stress on the facilities created actually for every Albanian citizen to get a passport for travelling abroad and exit visa from the competent authorities.

These irregular departures have caused disorders within the country, and undesirable consequences for the neighbouring countries.

The Albanian authorities have adopted all measures to prevent such irregular departures. They hope that all Albanian nationals who like to go abroad must observe the rules and procedures in force and the other states will facilitate the granting of visas and Albanian nationals' going into their territories, in the spirit of Helsinki Acts.

The Albanian party informed the UN delegation that the competent authorities, proceeding from the fundamental humanitarian principles and taking into consideration the economic difficulties and the extraordinary circumstances caused by the irregular departures of the Albanian nationals will exempt every Albanian national who has returned at home from his responsibility according to Article 127 of the penal code. These persons have not had and actually are not having any punitive or discriminating measure because of their irregular departure abroad. They enjoy the same rights like all other nationals.

The members of the UN delegation had meetings with a number of persons who returned with "Tirana" ship who stated that they have resumed regular life.

The Albanian Government has created the Department of Emigration in the Foreign Ministry to look after all the Albanians who have emigrated and to facilitate their contacts with Albania. The government has made efforts with 13 countries proposing them temporary employment of the Albanian nationals but there is not any positive answer yet.

The UN delegation noticed the great worry of the Albanian Government for these irregular departures. It will convey to the UN secretary general and the commissar of the United Nations for Refugees the desire of the Albanian Government to contact with states, intergovernmental institutions and other organisms so that Albania be actively backed up in the present process of political, economic, social reforms and to respond to the urgent needs in the humanitarian, economic and financial fields.

FRG's Riedl Receives Foreign Trade Minister

AU1503152391 Tirana ATA in English 1030 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 14 (ATA)—On March 14, Dr. Erich Riedl, state parliamentary secretary at the Ministry of Economy of the Federal Republic of Germany, received Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The two parties discussed at the meeting on the development of economic and trade relations between the two countries.

Zhelev: Update of Political Agreement Necessary

AU1603165091 Sofia BTA in English 1604 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 16 (BTA)—As is known, the political agreement the major political forces in Bulgaria signed at the beg...ng of this year fixed a monthly schedule for the legislative work in the legislature as well as the approximate dates of the local and legislative elections. Since this schedule is almost not being observed and the term fixed for holding the local elections has expired, it became necessary to update this agreement, the president of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, told journalists upon the completion of today's meeting of the Political Consultative Council.

Otherwise it will turn out that the political forces do not respect their agreement and this would discredit them both in the eyes of the Bulgarian and of the international public, which is also showing interest in these problems. Therefore the agreement had to be carefully reviewed, discussed and updated in view of the new conditions, Dr. Zhelev said.

Now that the economic reform has started these changes are inevitable, but they should be effected in such a way so as not to impede the reform. By no means should they restrict it or slow it down. Because the reform has its own logic and if things start moving in the wrong direction this would shake the trust of the international economic and political structures which are rendering us financial support, President Zhelev stressed.

The Political Consultative Council, comprising representatives of the political forces in parliament, will resume its meeting on Monday. [18 March] In the meantime the consultations within the political forces and parties themselves are expected to continue.

Issues Statement in Sofia

AU1803143091 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Statement by President Zhelev issued in Sofia on 18 March—recorded]

[Text] The Political Consultative Council had a meeting at the Presidency today. As you know, all political forces represented in the legislature also are represented in this council.

The meeting was very useful and constructive. We reached common conclusions on the most important issues. I think that we are close to reaching an agreement. There is a general conviction that the Grand National Assembly must direct its activity toward the most important issues for which it was elected. First of all, this applies to adopting the constitution. The Grand National Assembly should dissolve itself toward the end of May and set the date for new elections, regardless of whether legislative or municipal elections are held first. This is an issue that requires additional consultations, because different opinions were expressed at the meeting. I think that we will easily reach a consensus.

The report of the Credentials Commission and more specifically, the case of Stoyan Ganev, as well as the issue of the personal files, are more complex issues that represent a potential mine. Those are the two most dangerous mines that could explode at any moment and destroy the Grand National Assembly. Therefore, all of the participants, or rather most of them, expressed the opinion that those two mines should be unconditionally removed, and that the Grand National Assembly should not deal with anything else except the several very important laws, plus the law on elections and the constitutions. It is absolutely possible to achieve this in the next two to three months, if good will exists on the part of all.

For the time being I do not think there is a legislatvie crisis, although preconditions for such a crisis exist If sufficient political goodwill is not found, however, this could develop into a crisis and destroy the legislature. Nevertheless, I believe that a sensible compromise will be found. I base this opinion on the declarations of all political forces to the fact that none of them is interested in dissolving the legislature.

Trenchev Sees 'Great Chance' for Opposition

AU1603143391 Sofia BTA in English 0013 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—"Now is the great chance for the legislative opposition. If the MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] walk out of the Grand National Assembly now, the UDF will win the forthcoming elections. If they stay in the legislature it is less likely that they will win," Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Trade Union Confederation, told a BTA reporter who asked him his opinion on the current legislative crisis. Mr. Trenchev believes that the UDF has exhausted its stock of compromises and concessions. "With the drop in the rating of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the UDF, there has appeared a gap in the political spectrum which may be filled in by an organization with a clear-cut platform," Dr. Trenchev added.

'Tens of Thousands' Attend SDS Sofia Rally

AU1703174991 Sofia BTA in English 1703 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 17 (BTA)—The rally organized today by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) in defense of democracy turned into the first rally of the united opposition in Bulgaria. And actually into the first pre-election rally of the opposition. Tens of thousands of people encouraged the politicians of the legislative opposition and of the extra-legislative parties and groupings, who insisted on the holding of new legislative elections. There were numerous anti-communist slogans, raised above the crowd of one hundred thousand, according to

one of the speakers. A coalition of all anti-communist forces in the elections such a possibility seems realistic after today's rally, some observers say.

The elections should be held not later than June the rally demanded. This was the term envisaged for holding the legislative elections in the political agreement signed by the legislative political forces, the SDS leader Mr. Filip Dimitrov reminded. The other arguments in favor of the dissolution of the present Grand National Assembly and of holding new elections stemmed from the majority the Socialist (former Communist) Party holds in the legislature which impedes the real transition from the socialist system to legislative democracy and market economy. The Communist- Socialists do not want anything more than perestroyka a la Gorbachev, one of the speakers said and was loudly applauded by the participants in the rally.

The legislature is actually in a permanent crisis and in the past several months the correlation of the legislative forces no longer corresponded to their correlation in society, it is pointed out in the resolution adopted by the rally. The recent sociological inquiries have shown that the Union of Democratic Forces is the most influential political force.

The resolution insists that before its dissolution the Grand National Assembly passes the legislative amendments necessary for the economic reform. It also insists on changes in the government which would guarantee the peaceful holding of the legislative elections not later than June.

Most of the leaders of the parties and movements included in the SDS, as well as the representative of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (of the ethnic Turks), categorically declared themselves for new elections. Only two representatives of the Green Party spoke in favor of postponing the legislative elections and were booed by the rally. The speakers of other formations within the SDS did not conceal the fact that there was also dissension in the union. They, like the majority of the participants in the rally, showed intolerance for those politicians who were inclined to conciliation with the Socialists. Mr. Nikolay Vasilev, the leader of the Alternative Socialist Party, called the representatives of the united opposition to leave not only the legislature but also the government.

The rally expressed categorical support for President Zhelyu Zhelev, the former leader of the opposition.

Social Democratic Party Leaders View Retribution

AU1703204491 Sofia BTA in English 1928 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 17 (BTA)—Social Democratic leaders said on TV today that there will be retribution for the crimes and outrages during the totalitarian regime. The leader of the Social Democrats, Dr. Petur Dertliev, said on the "Vsyaka Nedelya" TV program that he would demand that the authors of the idea of integrating Bulgaria with the Soviet Union and of the "regenerative process" be brought to court as well as those responsible for Bulgaria's multibillion debt. There should be and there will be such a trial, Dr. Dertliev said

Mr. Kornazhev, who chairs the temporary legislative commission inquiring into the causes of the current economic and political crisis in this country, said that the trial of the former dignitaries Todor Zhivkov and Milko Balev which has already started, is following a normal juridical course.

An opinion was expressed that those responsible for the present state of the country should be tried in a civilized way so as not to repeat the events in Romania.

A number of members of the so-called "close circle" of the former No. 1 appeared at the Zhivkov-Balev trial in the capacity of witnesses. Some of them wagged a finger at the court panel. Mr. Kornazhev advised the Bulgarian people to show patience in order to see these people in a different role...

The threat of suppressing the "Vsyaka Nedelya" program was also discussed. It was mentioned today's rally of the united opposition as well. Its speakers said that the removal of independently-minded journalists from the Bulgarian Television was being prepared. The two Social Democratic leaders expressed their support for the Vsyaka Nedelya program as well as for its hosts—Mr. Kevork Kevorkyan and Mr. Petko Bucharov. Mr. Bucharov himself did not say farewell to his TV audience. He said that according to a colleague of his Mr. Kevorkyan was to be discharged because of not having come to work after the expiring of the term of his leave.

National Agrarian Party Appeals For Unity

AU1803131291 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 8 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Statement issued by the National Agrarian Party; place and date not given]

[Text] Brothers! We live at a fateful time! We clearly face two alternatives: to disperse the darkness of social vagueness and enter the day of creative construction, or to enhance even more the sinister character of disunity and face self-annihilation as a political force.

Brothers! Today Bulgaria again seeks its salvation! Political life has acquired exceptional momentum and the struggle for overcoming the third national catastrophe is being feverishly waged. There is no Bulgarian who does not understand that against the background of the fragmentation and even confusion of political thinking (there exist about 50 political parties, alliances, and movements!), a united and strong Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] remains the only hope of removing the Bulgarian Communist Party (Bulgarian Socialist Party) from power. There is no other organization in Bulgaria that has the size, historical premises,

ideas, and program necessary to lead Bulgaria out of the abyss. It is absolutely clear that salvation can come only through restoring the Bulgarian village's life and work.

Brothers! Today we wage a difficult struggle for our survival as a nation. Everyone who considers himself a Bulgarian takes part in the struggle against the forces of totalitarian evil. Are we, agrarians, clear as to our place in this struggle? Are we really prepared to carry the load of our motherland's suffering? Do we have a worthy place in social life?

Unfortunately, our agrarian forces still are disunited, and the BZNS still cannot see its real image in the mirror of everyday political life. The BZNS continues to roam in the darkness of mistrust, squabbles, slander, and intolerance. The zigzags between the necessity of uniting all agrarian forces and the fierce bigotry of certain agrarian figures demonstrate that we lag behind the developments of political life in the country. The behavior of the leaderships of the two agrarian unions is an eloquent example of this. How much longer will the BZNS continue to merely issue declarations condemning the schismatic activity of Obov-Traykov-Tanchev? When will it purge itself of alien elements in its organization from top to bottom? How much longer will the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS continue to demonstrate painful suspicion toward the BZNS? When will noted fighters understand that they must become good politicians?

This situation has only one solution—the unification of all agrarian forces! Unity—this is the real and honest agrarian appeal! The process of unification at the local level continues at an accelerated pace! The last and decisive step remains to be made to implement the long-desired unity of the Agrarian Union! Who should make it? The leaderships of the two unions must make it. When should it be made? As soon as possible.

Alas! The joint meetings and conferences of the two unions' leaderships and contact groups so far remain futile. Therefore, being aware of our great responsibility to the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and Bulgaria, we, members of the Grand National Assembly from the two unions, declare that we stand united under the holy banner of Aleksandur Stamboliyski, Nikola Petkov, and Dr. G. M. Dimitrov.

We appeal to the leaderships of the Agrarian Union at all levels to follow our example!

Brothers, time belongs to us! Meanwhile, we also must belong to our time! Let us join hands in the name of a united Bulgarian Agrarian National Union and in the name of Bulgaria!

Members of the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS—Grand National Assembly members [except as indicated, the following names are published with facsimile signatures]:

Aleksandur Velichkov, Prof. Aleksandur Yanchulev, Asen Raynov, Atanas Mikhaylov, Atanas Mochurov, Vasil Gyorev, Ventsislav Medarski, Viktoriya Dimova [no signature], Vladimir Manolov, Gancho Ganchev, Georgi Bunov, Georgi Petrov [no signature], Dimitur Batalov, Dimitur Penchev [no signature], Doncho Donchev, Yordan Kukurov [no signature], Yosif Petrov, Ivan Ginchev [no signature], Ivan Drashkov, Ivan Nevrokopski [no signature], Ivan Semkov, Lazar Stoychev, Prof. Konstantin Tsanev, Krum Nevrokopski [no signature], Krum Khorozov [no signature], Metodi Nedyalkov, Milan Drenchev [no signature], Mikhail Mikhaylov, Nikodim Popov [no signature], Petko Ogoyski, Dr. Sivo Chaparov [no signature], Stoyan Spasov [no signature], Todor Kavaldzhiev [no signature], Khristo Markov, Tsenko Tsvetkov.

Members of the BZNS—Grand National Assembly members [all names appear with facsimile signatures]: Aleksandur Stamboliyski, Aleksandur Dimitrov, Andrey Andreev, Atanas Uzunov, Boris Spirov, Veliko Velikov, Viktor Vulkov, Georgi Khinchev, Doncho Karakachanov, Elena Kircheva, Ivan Fantaleev, Ivan Glushkov, Ivan Velichkov, Rosen Mikhaylov, Svetoslav Shivarov, Khristo Khristov.

National Radical Party Blocks Roads in Kurdzhali

AU1603001491 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Members of the National Radical Party once more blocked traffic in the center of Kurdzhali on the square facing the Municipal People's Council Building for one hour today. This is the 12th action of this kind.

There appears to be no end to the protest actions. Saturday, 16 March, is expected to be even more exciting from a political point of view. On 21 February 1991 the local leadership of the Movement For Rights and Freedoms declared that for the sake of preserving civil peace in the area the members and supporters of the movement shall not participate in any organized actions. Their first rally in 1991 will be held at 1200 local time tomorrow. It will take place under the slogan: Bulgaria is the common motherland for all of us and we are its children.

Members of the movement's legislative group are expected to participate in the rally.

On the occasion of the aforementioned announcement, the following declaration of the Bulgarian National Radical Party was submitted for dissemination to the BTA reporter's bureau in Kurdzhali:

The benevolent attitude of the government toward an illegally registered movement that forced the legislature to adopt laws that are threatening the country's integrity has increased tension for which our party is not responsible.

To avoid clashes on the day of the movement's rally, the leadership of the Bulgarian National Radical Party urges its members and supporters not to participate in any

organized actions. The Ministry of Internal Affairs services are advised not to permit any gathering of crowds from neighboring settlements likely to cause an uncontrolled escalation of tension in Kurdzhali.

If such a situation should nevertheless emerge, the National Radical Party refuses to assume any responsibility in this connection, the declaration states.

DPS Leads Rally

AU1603190391 Sofia BTA in English 1812 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Kurdzhali, March 16 (BTA)—"Bulgaria is the motherland of all of us... We are her children." More than 15,000 people gathered at a rally held here today under this motto. It was organised by the Municipal Council of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS). It was also attended by 12 MP's of the legislive group of the movement at the Grand National Assembly, headed by its leader Mr. Ahmed Dogan.

"No more experiments with us," "We want to study Turkish," "When will the regenerative process end?" and "Equal before the law"—these were some of the slogans written and chanted among scores of Bulgarian tricolour banners and blue banners with the initials of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms.

The speakers expressed their peaceful protest and disagreement with the March 8 resolution of the Grand National Assembly on Turkish language classes. Criticism was levelled at the blocking of roads and schools in Kurdzhali and in other regions. The unanimous opinion was expressed that not only the ideologists of the "regenerative process" but also its direct executers should be held to account. The names of the former BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] first secretaries in Kurdzhali Georgi Tanev and Milcho Milchev were mentioned.

In his speech the DPS leader Mr. Ahmed Dogan stressed the necessity of holding new legislative elections as soon as possible. While the Socialist Party, which has preserved its local structures, is in power, there will be no democracy in Bulgaria, he said.

The participants in the rally voted a declaration which stresses that the March 8 resolution of the legislature is anticonstitutional and that the Turkish ethnic community should study its language at the Bulgarian schools within the framework of a regular curriculum and under the control of the Bulgarian state.

A press conference, attended by Bulgarian and foreign journalists, was held after the rally. The DPS MP's gave some additional information on the readiness of their movement to immediately organize Turkish language courses in its clubs throughout the country. Concerning the future local elections it was pointed out that the DPS will back competent and loyal candidates even if they are not DPS leaders.

In order to avoid clashes during the rally of the DPS the regional leadership of the Bulgarian National Radical Party appealed to its members and sympathisers not to take part in any protest actions. An appeal was also made to the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior not to allow the gathering of crowds in the nearby population centres which may take the situation in the town out of control.

Employers, Unions Demand Clear Economic Program

AU1703220291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 13 Mar 91 p 1

[Dima Dimitrova report]

[Text] So far we have not seen the government's program. We call upon the government to clearly define the conditions for economic activity, stated Bulgarian Economic Chamber [BSK] President Luchezar Toshkov, at a national meeting held on 12 March on the problems of the economic reform.

The participants in the meeting, organized at the initiative of the BSK, included economic managers from state companies, representatives of regional economic associations, the co-chairmen of the Confederation of Private Entrepreneurs, and leaders of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] and the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation.

Government representatives failed to appear, despite promises. "If the government remains on the sidelines," stated KNSB Deputy Chairman Svetoslav Stavrev, "it will soon realize that it has made a mistake by staying out of the game."

Professor Stavrev pointed out that the economic recession is the greatest enemy of the reform. Major differences are coming to a head between the government and business, and it is possible that social tension may also develop if the number of unemployed reaches half a million during the next few months.

The trade unions and the employers represented by the BSK intend to combine their efforts to stabilize industrial production, save jobs, and therefore, to preserve social peace.

At yesterday's meeting it was made known that BSK leaders signed the agreement for social peace, but because of the way the agreement has been handled subsequently, their signature should not be regarded as representing a commitment.

The employers in the state sector are currently represented in the Commission for Coordinating Interests by the Union of Economic Managers—"the union that was also party to an agreement with the Lukanov government," Mr. Toshkov pointed out. This union, he said, was a mere cover for adopting decisions already coordinated with the employers.

The trade union representatives also expressed their dissatisfaction with the position of the Union of Economic Managers as the third party in the Commission for Coordinating Interests.

If the trade unions and the BSK reach final agreement on joint actions, the leaders of the chamber may return to the tripartite commission, but it is possible that the Union of Economic Managers will leave the commission.

Commission Regards Layoffs as 'Inevitable'

AU1603193091 Sofia BTA in English 1856 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 16 (BTA)—The trilateral commission, made up of representatives of the government, the trade unions and the employers, is unanimous on the issue of labour force laying off in Bulgaria—it is inevitable. The participants in the commission regard it as a factor in the realization of the economic reform and in the recovery of economic life through the introduction of the market mechanisms.

Mrs. Emiliya Maslarova, minister of labour and social welfare, told the BTA that she is well aware of the gravity of the situation and is of the opinion that unpreparedness at different levels for adequate actions will create additional difficulties.

According to Minister Maslarova the government will oppose arbitrary and mass discharges. The authorities believe that a new tax policy would encourage the opening up of new jobs. The national budget will not play an important role in the social insurance of the citizens, but the latter can rely on social insurance by the enterprises in which they work and on payments in a special fund.

Mrs. Maslarova told the BTA that she is not satisfied with the work of the 121 employment agencies in this country.

The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria is for organised discharges with the undertaking of the respective responsibilities by the employers. The deputy chairman of the confederation Prof. Svetoslav Stavrev called the government's attention to the demands of the business circles which are more and more frequently sounding like ultimatums. And the future of hundreds of thousands of jobs is at stake, Prof. Stavrev told the BTA.

The Podkrepa Trade Union Confederation and the Union of Business Executives call attention to the necessity for the change of a number of laws, including the labour code. Mr. Radoslav Nenov, secretary of Podkrepa, believes that now we can speak of a restructuring of the labour force within the framework of the 10 per cent discharges analysed in the trilateral agreement.

Mr. Stoyan Drundarov, the chief of the Union of Business Executives, told the BTA that his organization and the trade unions cannot reach an agreement as regards the extent of trade union interference in the work of the companies. At the same time Mr. Drundarov is convinced that the economic crisis would not last long.

Danov Comments on Civil Disobedience

AU1603200091 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 12 Mar 91 p 1

[Interview with Internal Affairs Minister Khristo Danov by Nikolay Gavrilov; place and date not given: "Will There be 'Cities of Truth' Again?"—first paragraph is VECHERNI NOVINI introduction]

[Text] Minister Danov did not let us wait too long. At the entrance of the ministry we were allowed to pass without any permit, while the militiaman on duty just rang upstairs and said: "Some journalists from VECHERNI NOVINI are here." The minister was in a joking mood. He said that he is a great "opponent" of journalists because they usually distort one's statements, and so forth. Later on, however, he frankly admitted being the grandson of one of Bulgaria's first journalists.

[Gavrilov] Mr. Danov, in connection with announcements that "cities of truth" are expected to be installed again on several public squares in Sofia and throughout the country, our readers would like to know whether we should once more permit the illegal diktat of the street to prevail and whether we should tolerate that chaos and disorder disgrace us?

[Danov] I must point out that our provisional government of hope is not a government of temporary hope. Our government is resolved to search for and apply purely democratic methods respecting the rights and freedoms of our citizens. Naturally, provided that the rights are accompanied by discipline.

[Gavrilov] You would like to say that....

[Danov] I am saying that discipline is the reciprocal element of right. Any violation of public order will be persecuted and the expression of protest in the street should never prevent the government from implementing the appropriate legal acts.

[Gavrilov] As a result of this, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which you are presiding over....

[Danov] .... Pursues the ambition of changing its style, methods, form, and substance of work. The ministry will strive to become a modern, contemporary institution. We shall respect the citizens' rights, but the law should be our guiding star. The law expressly determines the methods of exercising authority whenever individuals, or groups of people are engaging in uncivilized behavior and acts. The coercive measures in all cases should be differentiated and correspond to the degree of the offense.

Minister Danov pointed out that it is difficult to answer the question whether an atmosphere of stability and

security is expected to prevail in our country on the eve of the elections, but he can declare that civil peace exists since Prime Minister Popov assumed office.

If any excesses are committed, they are insignificant and temporary, he said. In any case, they are incorrect and can be described as the intentional actions of people who are striving for the domination of a given political force.

BTA Poll on Zhivkov Trial, Political Scene

AU1703164391 Sofia BTA in English 1607 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 17 (BTA)—The trial of Todor Zhivkov resembles a poor theatrical performance—such is the opinion of 402 of the total of 510 respondents to a poll conducted by the BTA. 71 respondents disagree and 32 cannot judge. Some of the respondents objected against such a formulation of the question because they regard the trial as a well-directed show with excellent actors. Others think it is a comedy.

255 of the respondents answered the second question in the poll: "Will Todor Zhivkov be sentenced?" In the affirmative, 179 do not believe this will happen and 70 cannot judge. "He may be sentenced but not for what he deserves," one respondent said. He even predicted a ten-year sentence "to save appearances." Some of the respondents who said they could not judge explained this with the quickly changing political interests. The people has long passed its judgment on Todor Zhivkov and no matter what the sentence would be it would be to small, some of the respondents believe.

"Should the former secretary general be tried for other crimes as well?"—this question yielded the following results: 446 respondents answered in the affirmative, 35 in the negative and 22 said they could not judge. A large part of the respondents find Todor Zhivkov guilty for the so-called regenerative process, relating to the renaming of the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria, for the withholding of information on the consequences of the Chernobyl accident in Bulgaria and of incompetent political government in the course of decades which deprived the Bulgarian nation of its individuality. In connection with this question an opinion was expressed that our poll is psychologically impure and that regardless of its aim it is of a manipulative nature.

Here are the answers to the last question: "Who is to blame for Bulgaria's present plight?" 70 respondents said Todor Zhivkov was to blame, 290 blamed it on the ruling hierarchy, 68 on the entire Bulgarian Communist Party, 16 on the Union of Democratic Forces, 36 on the Soviet Union, 5 on Mikhail Gorbachev, 7 on the United States and 15 respondents said they could not judge.

In their answers some of the respondents expressed opinions which did not refer to the questions included in the poll. Some believe that the present state of the country is a result of the imposed socialist system, others blamed Gorbachev, saying that he started restructuring without being able to see where all this would lead. No mercy was shown for the Grand National Assembly either. Four of the respondents to the poll from the city of Khaskovo said that with the slowness of its work it is contributing to the deepening of the crisis. According to respondents from the city of Vratsa, the disintegration of the CMEA has also had its effect on the grave situation in this country.

Conference Debates Child Health Care Problems

AU1603143691 Sofia BTA in English 0129 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—The infant mortality rate in this country varies between 8.9 and 21 per thousand. The 1990 estimates show that Bulgaria's infant mortality rate is three times as high as Japan's.

Most children die at birth and at different ages in regions with a large gypsy and Turkish population and in villages. Today's conference pointed out as one of the causes for this situation the low qualifications of some physicians. Given the grave financial constraints in this country, the major problem for specialists is to check the rise in infant mortality. For instance, the cost of a packet of children's food marked a ten-fold rise, and children's food, milk, and protein medicines are unavailable. Specialists also stress that humanitarian aid is also sent to homes for physically and mentally handicapped children at the donors' request, while those living in their families are also needy and have an insufficient calorie intake.

Two Vietnamese Reportedly Slain in Clash

AU1903084091 Sofia BTA in English 2145 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 18 (BTA)—The economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Vietnam, which until recently was described as mutually beneficial (the latest proof of which was the agreement on the employment of Vietnamese in Bulgaria), yesterday was "crowned" by a real battle fought near the Vietnamese hostels in Sofia. Two Vietnamese were killed and several others were wounded. The law enforcement units had to use force to curb the crowd of several hundreds of Vietnamese.

There are different versions about the incident and almost no common ground between the Bulgarian and the Vietnamese side. Each of the sides resents the other one and at the same time both agree that a similar incident was sure to happen sooner or later, having in mind the present situation of the Vietnamese workers in Bulgaria. The incident was provoked by a quarrel between black marketeers (a Bulgarian cab driver and Vietnamese) that flared up near the Vietnamese hostels.

Commenting on yesterday's grave incident the charge d'affaires ad interim of the Vietnamese Embassy in Bulgaria, Mr. Nguyen Xuan Cung, did not use the word "provocation" but that was what he actually implied. At today's press conference Mr. Kung let it be understood

that he had been given verbal assurance by certain officials that the area around the Vietnamese hostels would be soon restored to order.

At another press conference held two hours later in the Sofia Police Department it was admitted that law and order should be established in this part of the city. According to the chief of the 40-member special police squad who parried the first attacks of the Vietnamese, things could have been much worse had the police not interfered. The police officer believes that no life was lost in his task force thanks to his men's cool-headed action, that had they faltered before the Vietnamese (initially they were about one hundred, then their number increased to several hundreds), the Bulgarians living in the neighbourhood would have wreaked their fury on the Vietnamese...or vice versa.

The cab driver who picked up a brawl with two or three Vietnamese called for help on his wireless. About sixty cabs arrived to the rescue. The task force of the Ministry of the Interior and about a hundred Vietnamese arrived on the spot too, almost simultaneously. It is not very clear what happened afterwards, but the escalating hostility led to the use of firearms.

"No one wanted to kill, no one shot point-blank, no one ordered fire," the commander of the riot-combatting task force told the news conference. "Each of us felt it imminent to defend himself," he added, stressing that the first shots came from the direction of the Vietnamese hostels. The news conference was shown a shot-through shield.

It remains for the investigation authorities to pronounce themselves on the tragedy.

Every victimized Vietnamese will be avenged for by victimizing a Bulgarian in Vietnam. This is what some witnesses of the bloodshed heard. Mr. Aleksandur Tonev, head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told the BTA that such rumours and statements should not generate panic and escalate tensions. He added that until now no pressure whatsoever is reported to have been exerted on Bulgarian citizens in Vietnam.

Vietnamese workers started arriving in Bulgaria in the early 80's. There were years when they totalled 23,000. Now there are 11,000 Vietnamese in this country. The employment contracts of half of them have expired, or they have been discharged. Practically they have had no income for almost a year. The Vietnamese workers in Bulgaria do not receive any social benefits.

Despite the agreement signed last autumn, the Vietnamese have not been flown back home until now because the airway lies above the theatre of war in the Gulf crisis.

The Vietnamese charge d'affaires ad interim said that his countrymen's strongest wish is to leave Bulgaria as soon as possible.

Dienstbier Receives Soviet Ambassador Pankin

LD1803185191 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Foreign Ministry Press Spokesman Egon Lansky gave a statement to the Czechoslovak Press Agency noting that Soviet Ambassador Boris Pankin was received today.

Talks concentrated on the internal situation in the two countries and their mutual relations. Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier pointed out some statements by Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov during a visit by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to Moscow. It concerned statements hinting at the possibility that existing economic cooperation could be disrupted due to political causes. Jiri Dienstbier pointed out that the Soviet and Czechoslovak economy are intertwined and noted that such statements will jeopardize our economic plans and provoke panic in regions of our country dependent on economic cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Ambassador Pankin said that he would convey Czechoslovakia's position to the Soviet Government. He expressed the view that the issue in question was probably misunderstanding. The two representatives assured each other about the necessity of cooperation and good-neighborly relations.

Federal Assembly Opens Joint Session

LD1903115991 Prague CTK in English 0951 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 19 (CTK)—The meeting of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, starting today, will draw considerable attention after expressions of separatism in Slovakia last week shook the foundations of the Czechoslovak federation.

The four-day session, the 14th joint session of both houses—the House of the People and the House of Nations—since the parliament's constituent meeting on last July 18, will deal with a government land bill which follows up the already adopted laws on large and small privatization. The bill sets new conditions of land ownership, with regard to the restoration of private ownership, just as the law on small privatization restored private ownership in the sphere of commerce and services and the law on big privatization in industry.

Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's proposal for a law on referendum of last December 13 has become a topic owing to the latest events. The demands for declaring Slovakia's sovereignty resulted in calls for a referendum to decide the future of the common state of the Czechs and Slovaks. President Havel reiterated his opinion that a referendum is justified in a radio and television speech in Bratislava on March 14.

The debate on the land bill and the bill on a referendum, as well as questions to be addressed to the representatives of federal bodies, are likely to highlight the complexity of the present political situation in the country. Also complicated will be the debate about the results of vetting of Federal Assembly deputies, federal government members and the staff of the presidential office, decided by the parliament at its January meeting. A fifteen-day deadline for deputies and ministers, proven to have collaborated with the "StB" secret police now disbanded, to resign expires on Thursday, March 21. Spokesman for a commission of inquiry Petr Toman confirmed in a Czechoslovak radio interview that there are fewer than 50 former "StB" collaborators in the 300-member federal parliament at present. The Federal Assembly will decide at its current session whether or not and in what way their names would be made public.

President Havel Gives Weekly Interview

LD1703163691 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1315 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Jiri Vejvoda at Lany Castle; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Vejvoda] Mr. President, you spent last Thursday in Slovakia. It has been some time since you were last there. Before commenting on the events of that day, let me ask you one question on behalf of many listeners: Was this another in the series of your preplanned working visits or stays, or was the journey made under the pressure of the events of recent days?

[Havel] We had planned a regular working stay in Bratislava for the end of March, but as the situation in Slovakia became more dramatic—for example, the relay of Monday's large rally in Bratislava created a big fuss throughout the country—we decided to move the visit up so I would go now instead of at the end of March, particularly since I am going to be away for a week on a visit to the Benelux countries. That is why I went on the Thursday's working visit. [passage omitted]

After my Bratisalva meeting with students' representatives, I had about an hour and a half free, and since it was a lovely spring day I decided to take a stroll in Bratislava. I did not want to be cooped up in the castle all the time—after all, that is something I am all too accustomed to—and to take a look at the two demonstrations that, by coincidence, were taking place in Bratislava that afternoon. I am an inquisitive person, I like to know what is going on, and I do not avoid people. Anyway, we walked a couple of kilometers or so along the embankment, taking in the fresh Danube air, and we reached the venue of the first of the two demonstrations near the statue that has been reinstated there on the embankment symbolizing Czechslovak statehood and Czechoslovak understanding. It was a demonstration against the escalation of nationalism.

I talked to people there who, for example, had been in concentration camps during the war, and who are now

apprehensive about the future. The excessive resurrection of memories and glorification of the Slovak state alarmed them greatly, and they chanted various slogans in support of me and Czechoslovak coexistence.

From there we decided to go a bit further to the Slovak National Uprising Square, which is the central square in Bratislava, and which you can hardly avoid on a stroll around Bratislava. Okay, you could avoid it if you wanted to, but I was genuinely interested, so we spent about half an hour walking up and down the footpath, and then we got into the cars and drove off. Newspaper reports that I ran away, or had to run away, are not true; they are nonsense. If I had wanted to run away, I had any number of chances to do so.

Needless to say, at one point the demonstrators noticed me and began shouting slogans against me, began shouting: "Glory to Tiso," "Glory to the Slovak state," and so on. Anyway, I mingled directly with them; I deliberately walked very slowly, and I stoped here and there and tried to look people in the face to understand them and get to the root of things. However, my impression from looking at them was that they were by and large people who did not know what they were doing, as if they were hypnotized, or high on drugs or something, with the sort of aggression we have seen sometimes at certain soccer matches when, for example, Liverpool or some other team is playing Ajax, or suchlike. To tell the truth, when I saw those fanatical, frenzied faces, I felt a little sorry. I do not want to make too much of all this, however, because all my other experience of Slovakia confirms my impression that this is by no means the majority opinion.

The aspiration for a certain degree of greater national identity and for the Slovaks to have a greater say in their own affairs is a different matter, but it seems to me that those who allow such a genie out of the bottle are very irresponsible—people who are very frustrated in one way or another, or lacking some sort of horizon, security, or goal, people who for various reasons feel a need to rebel against the world in general, people who are seeking some kind of alternative security, something they can latch on to—such people turn others into fanatics, hypnotize them, and incite people into such things. For me it was a very important experience, and I think that there were other reasons why it was good for me to have been there: Perhaps it helped to clear the air, to understand who people are and how they behave, and so forth. [passage omitted]

[Vejvoda] In the evening, television personalities and some deputies asked one question: Is a referendum virtually around the corner?

[Havel] [passage omitted] The fact that the law on a referendum will be passed does not mean that a referendum will, in fact, be held. Perhaps it will not be necessary; however, this option should exist should it be needed. I feel that we must adopt a potential change, a fundamental change of the consitutional setup and of the shape of our state in a legal, constitutional, sophisticated and dignified manner. This is precisely what I see in the option of a referendum.

[Vejvoda] Are you fearful of nationalism in the Czech lands, too?

[Havel] To tell the truth, I have not yet encountered many signs of nationalism or chauvinism in the Czech lands. Instead, I tend to encounter great concern for the future of our state and nervousness at the situation that has arisen, but I must say that I have also come across a sort of paradoxical phenomenon in Slovakia among the people that I have encountered, a fear that the Czechs will decide they have had enough and that the Czech Republic will secede, that the Czechs themselves will simply say that they no longer want to live in the same state as the Slovaks after everything that has happened. That, of course, is a groundless fear, because my impression is that no one wants that, but in a way it is interesting that this sort of fear has come to light.

[Vejvoda] In connection with the current events in Slovakia, certain commentaries in the newspapers are, I believe, talking about the term national socialism. What is your view on this?

[Havel] Yes, that term is appearing, and perhaps I should first of all say what it means, because it has a slightly different sound and different meaning in Slovakia than in the Czech lands. National socialism is simply a political concept, which is not the same as Nazism. We know that in our country there used to exist a very democratic National Socialist Party in the First Republic, and that in World War II it was involved in the resistance. It also existed under the same name after World War II, and in other countries too there are parties called national socialist, which have nothing in common with fascism or Nazism. Nonetheless, Nazism was also called national socialism at the time, and in Slovakia this term tends to be associated more with the idea of Nazism than in the Czech lands. This is why this misunderstanding has come about. So, briefly, that is what I want to say about the term.

Perhaps I should comment on whether this term is being used correctly in connection with the current political scene in Slovakia. My impression is that emphasis on these specific national features, these national criteria, the national path allied with certain left-wing or socialist-type tones that are appearing in the policies of certain political forces or parties—although they are apparently very far removed from one another—do, indeed, give grounds for reflection about this phenomenon. [passage omitted]

Klaus on State Budget, Rehabilitation

AU1503111291 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Mar 91, p 1

[Interview with CSFR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus by Marcela Doleckova; place and date not given: "Tension

in the State Budget"—first paragraph is HOSPODARSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] This year's state budget has a restrictive character and it anticipates a surplus. The philosophy of the loan granted by the IMF—whose experts monitor, among other things, public indebtedness toward the banking sector—is based on just this fact. Despite this, the first weeks of 1991 indicate that it will be a very difficult task to retain the budgetary surplus. We spoke about the stumbling blocks in the state budget with Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus.

[Doleckova] The law on extrajudicial rehabilitation also takes into consideration some financial compensation, according to your preliminary estimate, some 10 to 20 billion korunas [kcs]. Can the budget bear such a burden?

[Klaus] All estimated amounts are very rough estimates and, in addition to that, it is not known when they will be paid out. In no case do I believe that all the payments will be made this year. This is why, from the budgetary point of view, this is not the problem that makes me most uneasy.

[Doleckova] Are you also contemplating the inclusion of inheritance tax in extrajudicial rehabilitation?

[Klaus] The new law on the tax system, which is currently under preparation and should be discussed in our legislatures in the middle of the year, may also deal with the issue of inheritance tax. If anyone criticizes us for postponing tax reform, then he is deeply mistaken. It is not possible to proceed faster in this direction.

[Doleckova] Which problem do you consider the most urgent from the budgetary point of view?

[Klaus] Energy prices for the public and for budget-funded organizations, I believe. The government has long and repeatedly said that the negative sales tax on these items needs to be abolished. Even if the optical impression is of a price increase, nothing more than the elimination of subsidies is involved.

[Doleckova] There are, however, in general, great worries about this adjustment.

[Klaus] Of course, a pressing social problem is involved. In the case of foodstuffs, we have made sweeping compensations for the abolition of subsidies, and in the case of energy, we have been saying since the very beginning that incomplete compensation—about one-third—will only be provided to weaker social strata. Very few people realize how low our energy prices have been so far. Just as an illustration: a four-member family in a regular apartment building pays about kcs120 per month for heating and hot water. Expressed in a person-per-day ratio, this is only about one koruna. This is significantly disproportionate compared with other prices.

[Doleckova] Despite this, the elimination of the negative sales tax in the case of energy and fuel is being systematically postponed.

[Klaus] Right, we should have implemented this a long time ago. We warned that if it is done simultaneously with price liberalization, it will only cause confusion. Of course, in 1990 we knew that our task was to make central price adjustments, which we would have to introduce centrally to ensure that they were clear and unambiguous. We knew that it was important to make them before price liberalization, just to avoid the linkage with other price movements. Unfortunately, we have not succeeded. We first struggled for reform last year, then elections were held, governments were formed, the scenario for reform was pushed through, jurisdiction disputes erupted, and local elections were held. For all these reasons, and despite our endeavors, we have been unsuccessful in eliminating the negative sales tax on energy. I believe this is an ominous mistake.

Leftist Parties Form 'Open' Association

LD1603185191 Prague CTK in English 1708 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Brno March 16 (CTK)—Representatives of left-wing parties and movements from the whole of Czechoslovakia agreed at their meeting here today to set up an open Leftist Association of Czechoslovakia to provide scope for cooperation and coordination of their activities.

The association adopted a statement, emphasizing the need to create a truly democratic society and not a new bureaucratic totalitarian system and seeing the country's future in a federation of republics built on the principle of equality and self-government. The statement said the left is not a social system but means the defence of interests of the working people and disagrees with the present concept of economic reform.

The association's activities will concentrate on key questions of the life of society, the statement said and called for the setting up of similar associations on local and district level.

Taking part in the meeting were representatives of the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum, the Democratic Forum of Communists of the Czech and Slovak Republic, Left Alternative, Young Left, the Democratic Platform of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, the Green Platform of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, the Democratic Left Party, the Association of the Socialists of Slovakia and the Democratic Left of Czechoslovakia.

Press Faces Problems Publishing Periodicals

LD1503164991 Prague CTK in English 1023 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 15 (CTK)—High prices of newsprint and printing services together with a 22 per cent

turnover tax are causing serious worries to Czech and Slovak journalists and periodical press publishers. They fear that the free pluralistic periodical press in Czechoslovakia could collapse.

According to an analysis of 120 periodicals in the Czech Republic (the bigger part of the Czechoslovak federation), only 28 have good prospects to survive economically this year. Out of 15 dailies only seven could hold on and all specialized magazines face closures.

In the Slovak Republic, where 30 periodicals were analysed, only two dailies out of 18 have a chance to last without losses and subsidies.

Also most magazines for children, magazines dealing with regional issues, cultural and specialized magazines are doomed to extinction, the study says.

Because of these grim prospects, Czech and Slovak journalists and publishers have written a memorandum appealing to the governments (federal, Czech and Slovak) to speedily adopt legislative measures for the support of the press.

The memorandum, handed over to Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa recently, calls for zero turnover tax, which is applied in many developed countries, and for regulated paper and printing prices.

It also asks the governments to adopt measures which would protect the press from dependence on the dictate of material and technical services' suppliers and which would wake the interest of society in the healthy development of the press and in maintaining the majority share of Czech and Slovak capital in the sphere of the media.

An economic report added to the memorandum says that the present economic pressures could lead to the disappearance of most periodicals. The total costs of the production and distribution of newspapers and magazines, including the turnover tax, have increased by 60 per cent in the Czech Republic and by 66 per cent in Slovakia since 1990, the report says.

Principles, Cost of State Energy Policy Outlined

AU1603211491 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Mar 91 pp 1,2

["st"-signed report: "Is the Financial System Threatened With Collapse?; Energy Policy and Insolvency Discussed in the Tripartite Council"]

[Excerpt] The principles of state energy policy and an analysis of the insolvency of enterprises were the most important items on the agenda of yesterday's meeting of the CSFR Council of Economic and Social Accord.

It emerged from the meeting that state energy policy will support structural programs for energy conservation based on world technological trends. The state will participate in these programs by providing capital and [credit] guarantees, by supporting participation by foreign capital, and by stimulating, by means of tax relief the use of energy-saving products. All this should lead to a 25-percent absolute decline in energy consumption in the production sphere by the year 2005, whereas energy consumption in the tertiary sphere should increase 12 percent. The principles of state energy policy provide for cuts in brown and bituminous coal mining as a prerequisite for improving the environment. The capacity of steam power stations in northwestern Bohemia is to be reduced by 1,200 megawatts by the year 1995. An increase in the proportion of natural gas [in the energy balance] and a reduction in the consumption of liquid fuels are being considered. The Mochovce nuclear power station and units one and two of the Temelin nuclear power station are to be completed. All this necessitates large investments. For example, between 50 and 60 billion korunas [kcs] alone are needed for the desulfurization of coal-fired power stations. The completion of Temelin will cost kcs20 billion. The idea was proposed that we should borrow financial resources [for these investments] abroad now and repay them will electricity exports after 1995. [passage omitted]

Economic Council Deals With Insolvency Problems

AU1403105691 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Mar 91 pp 1,2

["(ms)"-signed report: "The Life Belt Is Only Hypothetical"]

[Excerpt] In no case will the government protect bad enterprises from going bankrupt, but it will stimulate some of the missing market principles to save the progressive ones by adopting some administrative measures. Banks will selectively designate sound economic organizations and provide them with credit. The enterprises themselves must do most of the work to overcome their insolvency, to search for new markets, and to change their production programs, etc.

These conclusions were reached at Friday's [8 March] meeting of the CSFR Government Economic Council that dealt, among other things, with enterprises' insolvency. This insolvency reached 77.6 billion korunas at the end of January, and the situation did not change in February, either. According to Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, a great part of the economy still cannot be regulated on a macroeconomic scale. An economy based on payments in kind [naturalizace hospodarstvi] is being introduced, and money is playing a smaller and smaller role. The reason for insolvency is the behavior of the enterprises—the hasty increase in inventories at the end of the last year caused by fears about higher prices, premature payments to foreign companies caused by fears about devaluation, mutual "destruction" [vzajemne zabijeni] by means of shocking prices, and, above all, by overall decrease in demand.

Czechoslovak State Bank Chairman Josef Tosovsky said that insolvency is an accompanying phenomenon of economic reform and that the pressure to ease the monetary and credit policy is, in fact, pressure to restrict or stop this reform. The restrictions cannot be waived, but the central bank should flexibly adjust the money supply to the movement of prices and to the velocity of money in circulation [obrat penez]. At the same time, it should support the development of bills of exchange in circulation, both from the technical aspect and by a policy of re-discounting bills of exchange [politika reeskontu smenek]. Commercial banks should extend and improve their analyses so they become the basis for their selective approach to enterprises—"sound" enterprises should be granted credit. Federal Deputy Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik stressed that it is usual that payment periods in the world are extended over 60 to 90 days. These payment periods were only extended over 14 days in our country, but now we have the opportunity to agree on a longer period, yet this opportunity is not used very often.

The government must say soon what it is not going to do, stressed Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy. It is necessary to single out the industrial branches whose development we are no longer interested in, but we cannot expect that general regulation will be implemented and that solutions will be found for enterprises' problems. [passage omitted]

Meciar Claims Security Services Following Him

LD1803193591 Prague CTK in English 1850 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 18 (CTK)—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said today that he and his family have been followed for a long time by security services and that the Federal Information Service, the government's intelligence agency, prepared material intended to discredit him.

Speaking on the occasion of his acceptance of the "1990 Politician of the Year" award from a Slovak weekly, Meciar also commented on President Vaclav Havel's visit to Bratislava on the 52nd anniversary of the declaration of an independent state four days ago. President Havel was whistled and jeered when he tried to speak to a group of separatist Slovak demonstrators and his bodyguards were attacked.

The president has the right to go where he wants, Meciar said. But he must be aware of the risks and consequences of his actions. The group involved in the incident was not representative of Slovaks, he added.

Information about fascistic tendencies in Slovakia appearing in the foreign mass media originates from statements made by the president's spokesperson, Michael Zantovsky, said the Slovak prime minister. He added that Zantovsky has so far not refuted his statements.

Meciar rejected claims of the spread of fascism or national socialism in the Slovak Republic, saying their goal was to isolate Slovakia on the international scene, both economically and politically.

He also commented on Saturday's statement by the council of the Slovak movement Public Against Violence (VPN), in which the council declared that the Slovak prime minister no longer represented VPN in the Slovak Government. Meciar noted that he was still a member of the VPN council, a VPN deputy in the federal parliament, and the prime minister of the Slovak Government formed by VPN. He said he was carrying out the VPN program, supported even by his opponents, but that there were various opinions as to how the policy should be implemented.

Meciar on Political Situation in Slovakia

LD1803125491

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1730 GMT on 17 March carries a 38-minute program presented by an unidentified announcer, followed by an interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by an unidentified reporter. The place and date of the interview are not given.

The program opens with the announcer saying: "A putsch in Slovakia—its threat has been hanging over us in the past few days." He adds that developments in "the last hours force one to put the issue differently: If this is a putsch, is this not a putsch against Vladimir Meciar? Is this not the case of the situation being so destabilized in Slovakia that there is a danger of coalition, government, legislative and constitutional crisis?" Recalling the resolution passed yesterday by the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence [VPN] recommending that the Slovak legislature investigate the prime minister's activities, the announcer introduces an interview with Prime Minister Meciar.

The reporter asks Meciar to comment on the VPN resolution passed yesterday. Meciar says that he was not surprised by its structure "because it is entirely in harmony with methods used by the people who have drafted it." He points out that the resolution shows some interesting points, such as "the inability to cooperate with people who have different views; efforts to misuse the state for the solution of internal problems of parties or movements; efforts to centralize any kind of decision-making process; and efforts to suppress internal democracy of the movement." He is very happy, he says, that "no one accuses him of not keeping to the election program of the VPN, or the government policy statement, and that I have not violated the law in any respect." As this is not the case, "fabrications have to be made," he adds. He says he is also happy that the government's activity is not being criticized as "insufficient or unspecific." He goes on to explain the situation in the VPN, noting that after November 1989, according to the VPN program, a certain direction was taken, but then "a part of the movement at the top of the leadership

deviated to the left, but we who have been going in a straight line continued this straight line. Thus, when our leadership deviated, we, in fact, became those out of line." This is not only "a Meciar method," he explains, as "the platform For a Democratic Slovakia is created also by deputies of the Federal Assembly, the Slovak National Council, and members of the government, and is supported by district clubs and other organizations. No one can be surprised today by the fact that many members of this movement have started going their own way, while preserving the original goals, and no one can be surprised that the original founders of the VPN do not agree with what is happening today, because this is a deviation from program goals and from the principle of the internal arrangement." He goes on to say "we are a civic movement, and in it, a party discipline cannot be applied, as once was the case."

The reporter agrees that there are some arguments about who, in fact, is the original VPN, but says the public does not really care much about this. People are more interested in "the legitimacy of your platform for the movement For Democratic Slovakia." Meciar explains that this is "a grouping within the VPN, united by views that have been developing for some time, namely as an opposition against methods and directions that the policy of some functionaries started to take. The right to a view—be it a minority, or a view that can become a majority view—has to be preserved in every democratic society. If this is not the case, then this is denying that which we wanted to do in November 1989." He says that the existence of various streams within civic movements is quite natural, as was the case in Bohemia, but when this happens in Slovakia this is considered to be of international importance "as it influences the stability of Slovakia as viewed from abroad. I think that whether or not Fedor Gal heads the VPN, or if he is replaced by someone else, Slovakia will remain Slovakia, and this will have no consequence at all on anything else. This is an internal matter for the movement. Thus my view is that it is necessary to respect the program. We have to fulfill this program—it is our duty to the voters, as we promised. There should be a government that will fulfill the tasks it has promised. The existence of two streams of views should be recognized and legalized, and not be attacked," he says.

Asked if he will resign, Meciar says "certainly not." He says that in the present situation he would not "let them use undemocratic methods. If they are able to do so, let them find those who are guilty." Quoting from yesterday's resolution, he says "legitimacy and justification of steps by the prime minister" should be investigated. Saying that this is too general, he points out: "There are deeds for which one should bear political responsibility, but politics cannot be done on the basis of general accusations." He says that the Slovak National Council has the right to keep checks on him, just like the public, by their votes in the Central Slovak region. He adds: "It must never happen for anyone who obtains a leading post in any political organization to think that he is in charge of a territory, in charge of the law, and master of the state. If this should be the case, it would be a great mistake and would throw us back 40 years."

The reporter then lists Meciar's shortcomings as listed at the VPN Council session saying: "You are undemocratic; you do not want to talk about your decisions; you do not want to bring to the government what you agreed upon in the Ministerial Club." He then asks Meciar what the Ministerial Club is like. Meciar explains that the prime minister heads a government of coalition partners, and this means that he has to adopt and implement a program that makes it possible for the government to carry out its functions taking into account all three coalition parties. The Ministerial Club cannot make decisions as "it is to assist in coordination." However, from its "coordinating fuctions it has transferred to a leading role. Mr. Zajac is the chairman of the Ministerial Club, and thus there the situation is interesting: The prime minister bears a constitutional and political responsibility for government activity, but the club chairman chairs its sessions, formulates conclusions, and sets programs. I have refused to attend the Ministerial Club, not because I could not come to terms with this fact, but because before the assembly in Topolcany a campaign was directed against me."

The reporter asks: "Why do you have to leave, why is it important for Meciar not to be prime minister?" Meciar replies: "You have to listen to what the Coordinating Center is saying about why I have to leave. There are many moments which influence this: Let us look at the first one—the VPN leadership is deviating to the left, and says so; I always say that I am and I remain in the center. No decision has been made by any assembly or in any documents to move to the right." Saying that the legitimacy of steps that are being taken today are being questioned, Meciar says: "is there anywhere in the statutes a procedure concerning the setting up of a view platform. If it does not exist, how can anyone say that the statutes are being violated?" He then defends the new platform, saying that it does not violate the program of the VPN. Meciar then says that the VPN, by wanting to remove the movement For Democratic Slovakia, is trying to deny it financial support, thus making it impossible for deputies in the movement to carry out their duties. Concerning the allegation that he does not want to meet with the VPN, Meciar says that he has sent two letters to Fedor Gal asking for a meeting. "He reacted to my first letter by saying that he would be willing to meet with me in the presence of one witness each. Because I did not consider the situation to be a declaration of war, I did not take a witness with me. His reaction to my second letter was that he would only talk to me in the Ministerial Club. I have written evidence of this, so I hope he will not deny this," Meciar says.

"You are allegedly against investigative screening," the reporter says. Meciar says that he talked about screening in one of his regular television addresses: "Screening can take place when materials are returned from Prague. This is the first condition, and the second condition is that the

screening procedure is set by law." When these conditions are met, "I will be in favor of screening," he says.

Meciar is then asked to comment on the declaration of the state sovereignty of Slovakia. He replies that he has said that there must be discussion about this declaration, "because we must give factual arguments pointing out where the declaration is mistaken, the intention of the authors, and what is positive within it." He adds that the declaration was signed by important intellectuals of Slovakia "who cannot be said not to belong to Slovakia just because they expressed a certain view." He says that he may not agree with them, but he must discuss with them and point out to them where their views are mistaken. "They all expected me to make some kind of radical statement to deal with them, but I want to say that this is a political standpoint. The VPN council could also implement its standpoint and make a clear political statement. Until now it has let the prime minister speak, and then it would add something, but now the government and the VPN must have two independent policies."

The reporter turns to the subject of privatization, and says that by his attitude, Meciar "is slowing down the development of privatization, and almost prevented the passing of the restitution bill." Meciar replies that the privatization process was slowed by the five-and-a-half-month wait for the adoption of the bill. The minister in charge is being encouraged to proceed as quickly as possible in this area, he points out. Meciar continues: "The extent of the restitution as wide as it was proposed," as far as he knows, was not in the program of any political party, either in the Czech lands or in Slovakia. What is important is that I make my standpoint known, Meciar says. He adds that the Slovak Government does not have the right to slow down the course of the passage of bills, but deputies do have a right to express doubts. The Slovak Government standpoint is an aid for the federal government, he states.

Meciar continues, saying: "I know which large property and interest groups are hiding behind the restitution bill. I know the people, their positions and interests. I had a choice—to make way for these powerful people and be in their favor and continue to be in their good books, and so threaten the economy of the Slovak Republic and thus every citizen, or to stand against it, defend the rights of the citizen and invite the wrath of the powerful to fall upon my head, knowing that it would only be a matter of time when and how they would demand to have my head." He says he has made his decision, as he said on television. The issue is not whether he is active or not in his post, or whether he is polite or not to some people, he states.

Asked about the reservations expressed about his visit to the Soviet Union, Meciar points out that his visit followed that of Czech Prime Minister Pithart, and no one had expressed reservations about that. His visit to the Soviet Union, at the invitation of the USSR chairman of the government, was useful and important for both sides, he says. He continues: "As far as the possibility of entering into secret agreements is concerned, I would like to assure everybody that the ambassador never left my side." A large group of embassy officials was present at all the talks and faithfully recorded all that was said by all sides, he points out. He adds, "When we had talks with the Soviets I said clearly, let us put an end to military-political blocs and military-political interests, let us put an end to cooperation on the basis of ideology and the leading role of the party. We are willing to trade, and we are willing to develop relations between equals. The discussion with the Soviets was relatively demanding. They also had factual points to make on the policy of Czechoslovakia toward them, in particular concerning the statements by some representatives, which are inappropriate."

He goes on to speak about problems in changing trade relationships with Soviet enterprises and the effect on the economy and work opportunities. He went to the Soviet Union to seek solutions to these problems, he points out. "The fact that it was precisely the Slovak Government that was successful in finding a solution should not be a reason for jealousy or for casting doubts on this solution."

Meciar states that he knew he would be criticized for his visit to the Soviet Union. There was no political motivation for the visit, as witnessed by the press conference given at the airport, he points out.

The reporter points out that the visit has been described as "an attempt to return to socialism, or even the return to power of communism." Meciar answers that he would like to say to his critics that for 20 years he was criticized for "real socialism," and should not be accused of wishing this on others. He says he is surprised at references to "national socialism," which he was asked about by an Italian journalist, who said his information was "from Prague Castle. In the journalists' subconscious this creates an analogy with the National Socialist German Party of Labor, and they automatically see elements of fascism within it." He goes on to say that the movement For Democratic Slovakia talks about the national pillar as one of the elements of its program, and the need for an objective solution on the basis of general consensus, "that must exist between the Czech and Slovak Republics; no other solution is possible." The movement also emphasizes the democratic element and refers to the original principles of the VPN proclaimed since November 1989, he states.

Meciar continues: "The problem is that internal movement within the VPN is being considered as a Czechoslovak affair, and the opposite movement within Civic Forum was seen only as a Czech affair. It is a great mistake that there are attempts to internationalize this problem and present it abroad as undemocratic, antifederal, and antistate. I would like to point out that those who attack this wing of the movement For Democratic Slovakia, by weakening this wing will also weaken the

general tendency for the defense of the joint state of the Czechs and Slovaks, and instead there will be confrontation between two contradictory concepts, and a battle for supremacy will follow. We have been accused of planning a left-wind putsch", Meciar says, and continues: "Let us just imagine me, the prime minister, organizing a left-wing putsch to overthrow the prime minister and then to install the prime minister—this means that I am organizing a putsch against myself." He says that it would be like throwing himself out of his office through one door and returning through another. "I am to be helped in all this by reformists and communists," he says.

Meciar says that communists "hardly talk to me," and only accept me "as the lesser evil in the given conditions, but they do not say that I am good. Casting doubts over Mr. Dubcek and his political authority is also a trend, and thus I am called Comrade Dubcek, despite the fact that Dubcek won most votes in the election campaign—for VPN—and won the election for it; that today he implements with honor and consistency the program principles of the VPN; that he gives all the authority he enjoys at home and abroad for services of this movement." He adds that there are also groups that cast doubts not only on Dubcek, but also on "other former members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party who in 1968 carried out the first attempt in history to overthrow the totalitarian regime."

Meciar then talks about constitutional responsibility, political responsibility, and who has the right to check on the government's activity. Meciar states: "It is not possible for a small group of people in VPN—namely people like Tatar, Flamik, Zajac, and Gal—to agree among themselves that the government is to do something, or take control over the government." We are all different, Meciar says, and explains that various people hold different posts—of those he named, only Mr. Tatar has been elected in the elections. The others have only limited political responsibility as they only answer to the VPN Council, he notes.

Meciar says that "some people are behind the scenes and are pulling strings." He notes: "Calfa is in the situation he is, and I simply respect this fact." Frantisek Miklosko is "a man I respect deeply because he always has a spirit of conciliation and realistic views of things, although under the influence of all the negative information about me, he may now have a somewhat more critical stand, but I believe he will very quickly assess the true situation.

Asked about his political legitimacy, Meciar says that this has been given by the results of the elections. He points out: "Citizens elected me and the results of the elections cannot be made void by anyone. My legitimacy is based on the fact that I joined the VPN at the very time it was being born. I have been in it from the very beginning, and no one can expel me. I base this legitimacy on the fact that I have been nominated to the post of prime minister by the Slovak National Council Presidium, and thus only the Presidium can recall me, or the Slovak National Council Plenum can pass a motion of no confidence in me. I also base my legitimacy on the fact that I am a member of the VPN Council, and I have been elected to the post by the assembly and cannot be recalled from it by anyone. Thus, if anyone decides that I am not legitimate, then I feel sorry for him, but this is not the way things are done."

Meciar then points out that other political parties must consider whether they see the present problem as an internal VPN problem or whether they should use parliamentary mechanisms to arrive at certain political conclusions. All public opinion surveys in Slovakia show that the majority of citizens believe in the Slovak Government, he says. Many good and honorable people left the former VPN because they did not agree with its program, he adds. Concluding his interview, he says: "At the start of 1990, the VPN was active, and seething with new ideas, but now the building is practically empty. Many of those who wanted to be active but did not agree with the platform left. Those who are interested can return. It is their movement, it needs them, and it wishes to continue to have good relations with them."

VPN Officials on Roles of Movement, Meciar

LD1803145191 Prague CTK in English 1334 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 18 (CTK)—The chairman of the coordinating centre of the Public Against Violence (VPN), the strongest political force in Slovakia, said today that the extent of disinformation on the part of representatives of the platform 'For Democratic Slovakia' (ZDS), which broke away from VPN earlier this month, was increasing.

He said at a VPN briefing here that this behaviour diverts attention from the essence of the dispute within the movement, which he characterized as a dispute between the principles of the VPN movement and Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's methods of work.

Chairman of the VPN Slovak Council (supreme body) Fedor Gal said the development within VPN differed from the process in the Civic Forum, its sister movement in the Czech Republic, as no independent streams constituted themselves in the VPN and rules of the game had not been defined.

Asked who might replace Vladimir Meciar in case he is dismissed from the post of prime minister, Gal said this question was very premature, adding that this matter would have to be decided by coalition partners together (the coalition is formed by VPN, the Christian Democratic Movement, the Democratic Party and the Hungarian Independent Initiative).

VPN Spokesman Responds to Meciar's Criticism

AU1903102791 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 14 Mar 91 p 2

[Statement by Sergej Michalic, press secretary of the Public Against Violence Coordinating Center: "On the Message Conveyed from Italy Through 'the Government of the Slovak Republic'"; place and date not given]

[Text] In the late afternoon on Monday [11 March], Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar dispatched two messages from distant Italy—one to the nation and the other one to clubs of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN]. By doing so he confirmed once again that the political situation in Slovakia really is of great concern to him. This is understandable, though the effect of his repeated soothing texts after Minister Knazko had set off a political storm—which he did shortly before the delicate date of 14 March [anniversary of the founding of an independent Slovak state in 1939] and, perhaps by coincidence, immediately prior to Prime Minister Meciar's scheduled departure for abroad—is debatable.

The prime minister—liberated from the as yet unproved but constantly emphasized censorship by the VPN Coordinating Center—is, however, appealing primarily to the public, not only in his message to VPN clubs but also in his statement, which, by all indications, is destined for the public at large.

After the VPN Assembly at Topolcany, I bore witness, in my capacity as press secretary of the VPN Coordinating Center, to several sharp attacks by the prime minister and by Minister Knazko on some VPN representatives, on the legitimate bodies of the movement, as well as on the results of the assembly. These attacks, and expressions of doubt, started with the prime minister's regular television address right after the conclusion of the assembly [on 23 February]. It is therefore questionable what Mr. Meciar has in mind when he speaks about a campaign to discredit "long before Mr. Knazko's television speech" [of 3 March]. Which specific public speeches or interviews by the movement's representatives containing personal criticism of him, or even attacks on him, is he referring to? I have no doubt that he will specify them in due course.

A bit unclear, however, is the claim that the [VPN] For a Democratic Slovakia platform "has no funds, fax machines, and data bases, which are at the disposal of the VPN Coordinating Center." If the For a Democratic Slovakia platform really has support in the districts, no one can prevent it from using the fax machines and funds of VPN District Coordinating Committees (even though, in case of compliance with VPN statutes, this would evidently be ruled out). At any rate, the For a Democratic Slovakia platform uses, for example, the fax machine of the Slovak Government installed in the prime minister's secretariat. It was precisely from there that the VPN Coordinating Center received on Monday, next to the two messages cited above, several documents of the VPN For a Democratic Slovakia platform ("The Preparatory Committee of the All-Slovak Conference of VPN Clubs Is Calling You"; "Topic of the Day—Be Afraid, Citizens!"; "Let Us Enter Into Discussion—I [Roman numeral one]"). Leaving aside the fact that none of these documents was signed, no one in the prime minister's secretariat was able to specify their purpose. The VPN Coordinating Center therefore deemed it necessary to obtain the relevant information directly from the prime minister in Italy. It has not yet received a reply to its fax of Monday evening.

Debatable and open to argument is also the formulation from the message from Rome that the "part of the VPN Slovak Council that met in Jiraskova Street on 9 March 1991 escalates aggressiveness in its resolutions." It needs to be said, for the sake of accuracy, that the prime minister did not take part in that session of the Council, even though, as can be seen from his signature [under the message sent to VPN clubs], he continues to regard himself as its member. At the time of the above meeting of the VPN Slovak Council, he attended a meeting [of his own platform] at Vranov nad Toplou (which, despite the alleged lack of funds, was propagated by means of promptly printed posters).

As for the formulations used in the resolution and in the conclusions from the meeting of the VPN Slovak Council of 9 March 1991 (the parts of which related to the For a Democratic Slovakia platform apparently upset Mr. Meciar), it needs to be said that they only reacted to the statement of the Constituent Committee of the For a Democratic Slovakia platform issued at the Vranov meeting that states that "the VPN Slovak Council can no longer be regarded as a legitimate representative of the entire VPN movement but only as a body of Fedor Gal's platform" and that the For a Democratic Slovakia platform "takes over the guarantee for the consistent implementation" of the VPN election program.

Even if we leave aside the peculiar "ambiguity" of the prime minister (who signs as member of the VPN Slovak Council and simultaneously partakes in events where this body is called in question) and the strange formulation about "Fedor Gal's platform" (after all, the conclusions of the VPN Assembly and of the VPN Slovak Council are recognized, among others, also by Frantisek Miklosko, Marian Calfa, Jozef Baksay, Pavol Hoffman, Jozef Kucerak, Milan Sutovec, Ernest Valko, other Slovak Government ministers and deputies, as well as by the majority of regular members of the VPN Slovak Council), it is hard to understand how this platform can take over the guarantee (?) for the implementation of the A Chance for Slovakia election program, as the Constituent Committee of the For a Democratic Slovakia platform states.

"Both sides" have been speaking in unison about misinformation in the last couple of days. I consider it therefore appropriate not to comment on the facts cited above.

Dubcek Tries 'To Remain Impartial' in Dispute

AU1903123991 Prague CTK in English 1822 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 16 (CTK)— Czechoslovak parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek said today that efforts by some forces to prevent the country from joining the European home are behind allegations linking former reform Communists with present Communists, and these pressures must be destroyed as quickly as possible.

Dubcek was speaking at a session of the Public Against Violence (VPN) Slovak Council which is discussing the present crisis in the movement.

He recalled that at the VPN Congress at Topolcany on February 23- 24 he still believed that those present would continue working for VPN's unification. However, now it is necessary to find common cultured language and not to disorientate the nation.

Of his own position Dubcek said he did not join the new platform 'For Democratic Slovakia,' he tried to remain impartial, and execute duties arising from his post. He added he wanted to distance himself from extremes by some groups of people.

Parties Split Over Meciar Dismissal Issue

LD1803231591 Prague CTK in English 2255 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 18 (CTK)—The Public Against Violence (VPN) movement said today it would tell its representatives on the Slovak parliament Presidium to propose the dismissal of Vladimir Meciar as Slovak prime minister.

However, two other parties of the four on the regional Slovak Government said they would either wait for the results of an inquiry or not support the dismissal. The four coalition parties met for talks today. Vladimir Meciar was nominated for the post of prime minister by the VPN movement but he has since broke away and founded a faction calling itself VPN-for Democratic Slovakia.

Peter Zajac of VPN's supreme body, the Slovak Council, said VPN would proceed on the basis of Saturday's session of the movement's council. It accused the prime minister of disrespecting democratic principles in his work and misinforming the public. Prime Minister Meciar said earlier today that the accusations were fabricated.

Jan Petrik, central secretary of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), the second largest group on the Slovak parliament, said that the KDH would go along with the proposal to set up a commission which would investigate some steps of Prime Minister Meciar and decide only on the basis of the inquiry. By no means would KDH deputies on the parliament presidium vote for the prime minister's dismissal, he said. The parliament (Slovak National Council) is to meet on Wednesday.

Jan Holcik, chairman of the Democratic Party (DS), another coalition partner, said the party will not recommend its deputies to the parliament to vote for Meciar's recall. "The DS sees no proven matter-of-fact reasons to replace the prime minister. This step would put the fulfilment of the basic aims of the government program and the implementation of a radical economic reform at risk", he said.

Spokesman for the Hungarian Independent Initiative (MNI) Peter Huncik said they will support the VPN proposal to set up a commission of inquiry and the proposal for Meciar's dismissal. MNI ran on the VPN list in the June 1990 parliamentary elections.

External Relations Minister Milan Knazko, who spoke on behalf of Prime Minister Meciar's VPN faction, said he "did not need to point out" that their platform was against a dismissal.

Knazko and Meciar were present at today's meeting which was attended by VPN Slovak Council Chairman Fedor Gal, Slovak Parliament Chairman Frantisek Miklosko and the chairmen of KDH, DS and MNI Jan Carnogursky, Jan Holcik and Karoly Toth respectively.

VPN, including MNI, has 48 deputies on the 150-member Slovak parliament, KDH has 31 and DS 7. The rest is shared by the National Party, the communists and several smaller parties.

Knazko told a press conference today that Prime Minister Meciar's VPN faction is supported by 13 members in the Slovak parliament - six independent ones and the rest VPN deputies.

Meciar Seen as Paving Way for 'Dictatorship'

AU1903111391 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 14 Mar 91 p 3

[Jana Plichtova commentary: "Dangerous Games"]

[Text] For a long time I have been observing how confusion and uncertainty grow among people. It is not only economic uncertainty. Above all, it is uncertainty caused by disorientation. This disorientation is a result of disinformation. Disinformation follows upon disinformation, and it is no longer possible to distinguish who speaks the truth and who does not. Radio and television reporters are not worried about the fact that they offer muddled information. Is it a coincidence? Are we unable to see the truth, or do we not want to see it? Many individual facts—the policy of appointing the directors and chief editors in the communication media, in particular—give rise to the suspicion that it is not incompetence, but an intention.

What should an ordinary human being do in such a case? He does not have a choice. He can broaden the sources of his information, he can buy several newspapers, and he can tune in to another radio station. However, it is assumed that many people simply do not have time or

that they do not have these options. It is also assumed that many people, confused by the intricacy of the political scene, will simply resign and refuse to participate in something like this any longer.

If one carefully considers who has a hand in intentionally confusing the minds of people, he will find out that the number one professional is our prime minister. He is able to declare a number of mutually conflicting attitudes and to worm himself into the favor of workers, the Slovak National Party, communists, and the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement all at the same time. How is he doing that? Simply. He changes his roles in accordance with the situation of the moment. Of course, he is an expert on recognizing the mood of the audience. First, he discredits the Slovak National Party, then he uses its arguments against the Czechs. He will depict the Czechs as our mortal enemies only to declare a common state immediately thereafter. He fights against [Slovak National Heritage Foundation Chairman, Jozef] Markus, against the Slovak Heritage Foundation, for the rights of minorities, and, at the same time, he seizes upon the banner of the fight against the Hungarian minority, labeling it as the number one enemy. Immediately after that he assumes the role of a peacemaker (meeting in Visegrad). In the position of interior minister he feverishly screens and, as prime minister, he courageously combats screenings.

In the latest events he again plays several roles, but this time de does so with ample assistance from another professional: First, he starts as a self-confident politician who also wants to become the main VPN representative. When this maneuver fails, he becomes a victim of persecution and censorship by the VPN Coordinating Center. With the help of a fellow player, M. Knazko, he assumes the right to be its critic and chief prosecutor—scandalizer. When unpleasant facts start coming to light, he begins to play the role of a reformist. After inciting national emotions and the nation's feeling of having been wronged by using false information and after skillfully exploiting the situation, he assumes the role of someone who soothes raging nationalistic passions.

Confusion in the minds of people is a good thing. It is only one small step from resignation, from the feeling of being powerless. Such people can be easily dominated. Powerless and confused, they look for a strong leader, a courageous man who will fight for their cause, who will bravely protect them against the Czechs, Hungarians, Jews, cosmopolitans, and capitalism. So, without being aware of it, we will wake up in a dictatorship again.

Mr. Meciar is a real professional, he knows how to impress people. He knows how to say what people want to hear. He is able to convince them of what he knows in advance that they will let themselves be convinced. If not now, then he will prepare the ground for the next time. Unfortunately, these are not innocent games, quite the contrary.

Much is at stake, everything is at stake. The question is whether we will exchange our freedom for national independence. Only a sober man who has retained his common sense and who has not been enchanted by the spell of a powerful man knows that independence in this realm is illusory. Who will guarantee the borders of independent Slovakia with Hungary, Poland, and the USSR? Who will provide evidence that we have not separated because we did not like the smell of the democratic development of our neighbors—the Czechs? Who will save the nation that so frivolously wasted its chance of freer existence? Who will help us, finally? No one but our so many times tested big brother—the USSR. Would he do it again unselfishly?

Knazko: Havel Visit 'Not a Fortunate One'

LD1803155791 Prague CTK in English 1347 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 18 (CTK)—Slovak External Relations Minister Milan Knazko told journalists here today that the decision of President Vaclav Havel to go to see the meeting in Bratislava on March 14 was not a fortunate one.

Knazko was referring to the president's presence at a meeting in Bratislava marking the 52th anniversary of the Slovak state (1939-1945) during which participants calling for Slovakia's independence attacked the president.

Knazko stressed that voices calling for Slovakia's sovereignty have nothing in common with national socialism and the less so with fascism. He claimed these expressions were not separatist tendencies but part of emancipation processes in postcommunist countries.

He further pointed to articles in the foreign press containing disinformation on Slovakia. In this connection he said one of the sources foreign papers use is Vaclav Havel's spokesman Michael Zantovsky. Slovakia's discreditation harms at present the whole of Czechoslovakia, he added.

1991 Trend in Food Prices in Czech Republic

AU1303154091 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Mar 91 p 2

["v"-signed report: "Price Development"]

[Excerpt] The price of food in the Czech Republic increased by 33.9 percent during the first two months of this year. The price of potatoes increased most (60.2 percent) while the price of eggs increased least (16.9 percent).

The prices of consumer goods show, according to the Czech Statistical Office, a certain stabilization. On 5 March, compared with prices of a week earlier, the average prices of all kinds of food, with the sole exception of granulated sugar, declined. [passage omitted]

Leaders Mark National Day, Revolution Anniversary

LD1503183191 Budapest MTI in English 1610 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)—The March 15 anniversary of the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution and war of independence was marked throughout Hungary on Friday. The central events took place in Budapest, with the state flag hoisted at Kossuth Lajos Square outside parliament with military honours in the morning.

Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic, Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, and Jozsef Antall, prime minister, laid wreaths at the statue of Lajos Kossuth.

Addressing the celebration, Arpad Goncz pointed out, "1848 is one of the rare moments in Hungarian history when the struggle for national independence coincided with that for social progress. The same applies to another memorable event of hungarian history, the revolution of 1956. The ultimate aim of both revolutions was to create a bourgeois society, a genuine democracy and republic. The present age is expected to bring the idea of the republic to fruition.

"The Central European peoples have to look for possibilities of co-operation, particularly in view of the chance offered by the present-day democracy. After a long time, our region has at last been freed of the distressing great power influence. The relations of the newly democratizing countries are directed against nobody. Central Europe has to stand its ground in the community of the nations with its re-established political and economic power," Goncz said.

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall gave a speech in the garden of the National Museum. Recalling the national consensus which emerged in March, 1848, he pointed out that a multi-party democracy also has fundamental ideas to be furthered with joint effort. He said that diversity should mean agreement when crucial questions are at issue.

"Running a political democracy and restructuring a misguided country often prove to be a more difficult task than that of reconstructing Hungary brought to ruins at the time. People today are not filled with the joy of survival and restart, but they fear the insecure future. There is a chance for the country to rise, but this requires confidence, belief and help on the part of all Hungarian citizens," Antall said.

Following, Arpad Goncz, Gyorgy Szabad and Jozsef Antall laid wreaths on the memorial plaque at the National Museum.

During the prime minister's speech in the garden of the National Museum, a group of about 10 young people unfolded a poster with an unprintable inscription condemning the government as fascist. Chanting slogans incriminatory for the Hungarian Democratic Forum, they also accused the government of harbouring pro-Chinese feelings. The police arrested the youngsters and have initiated legal proceedings against them. According to high-ranking Interior Ministry officials present in the scene, the action amounted to the offence of rowdyism, but political motivation cannot be ruled out either in view of the slogans chanted.

The third venue of the central celebrations was the Danube-bank Petofi statue, where Gabor Demszky, mayor of Budapest, gave a speech. He spoke about the 1848 demand, which will be met shortly, that no hungarian soldiers are stationed abroad and no foreign soldiers stay in Hungary. He proposed those present should celebrate the leaving of the last Soviet soldier on June 30 with a street dance throughout the capital.

Prime Minister Delivers Speech

LD1503181591 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0940 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Speech by Prime Minister Joszef Antall marking the anniversary of the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution and war of independence at the National Museum in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] My compatriots, Hungarians, esteemed guests, ambassadors, military attaches, and representatives of the various countries of Europe and the world who have come here to this historic spot, one of Hungary's holy places of pilgrimage, to remember the past and to draw strength, you and the nation, for the purpose of building the future. This is the place where, on an overcast, rainy day, Hungarian freedom was born and where the concept of world freedom was born. This is the place where not only in 1848, but in 1956, and so often at other times during history, we again and again drew strength so we should stand unflinchingly—as Vorosmarty [Hungarian poet] put it—in this place, so we should unflinchingly join forces for the purpose of building this country.

What does agreement mean for us? Agreement must mean, in a multiparty, pluralist democracy, that there are basic values and basic ideals, and we must endeavor for the best, most successful implementation of these. This, however, must not be in the spirit of hatred, of incitement, of irresponsibility, but rather so this variegated character should mean agreement in basic issues.

For us, 1848-49 is an historical event, and 15 March is a day of national endeavor whereby we celebrate not only a day, but the year, more than a year of struggle that the nation waged until the catastrophe at Vilagos [final battle of 1848 war in which Hungarians surrendered], and which, in its defeat, defined for eternity our basic national values, determined the basic conditions for social transformation, determined the basic values of our European Magyardom, of the European Hungary.

This day means all this and, for this reason, is an organic part of our national history. A nation must be rational in

what it sets for itself as a goal; it must be rational in methods, and it must be rational in weighing the situation. Without faith and memories, however—collective great national memories— there is no nation, there is no experience of belonging together. The 1848-49 revolution and war of independence is, for all Hungarians, a great experience of belonging together.

There was agreement in this at the time, but if one reads the yellowed pages of the contemporary newspapers, if one reads the reminiscences and correspondence, one knows what differences there were concerning the detailed issues or even the methods in the relations our collective heroes had with one another. What differences were felt by Szechenyi and Kossuth, Deak or Eotvos, Petofi or Janos Arany and the others! We can cite this, concerning the extent of the differences, but what, after all, was important was not this—rather, what was important was that they were together in the collective shouldering of freedom, equality, fraternity. Furthermore, if passions caused tensions between one another, this occurred with an intention to improve on things with unflinching faith.

Today, when on this day we have gathered to remember, we must think of many things. We believe that this day also means, for us, that we, at the time, were at one with the Europe of progressives and freedom-ideals, and with the best, most consistent political ideas and ideals that we not only learned from others, but which we also endeavored to pass on. [passage omitted]

Something came to mind as we came here from the Kossuth statue as a group next to us quietly hummed: "Lajos Kossuth has sent the message that his regiment has run out. If he again sends this message, all of us must go." [lyrics from 1948 song] We are special people from this viewpoint, because all peoples have revolutionary marches, and these revolutionary marches, such as the Marseillaise, call passionately for battle and speed. I do not know whether there is a nation, one of whose most revolutionary marches says: "If he again sends this message all of us must go." If such message was sent only once, if it was said only once, perhaps it was not taken seriously. If it was said only once, perhaps it is not suficiently important for us to take part in it. This is also part of our national character, and I would like you to believe that it is not necessary to send a message twice.

To the first message, that we must shoulder all that has been placed upon us, we must shoulder the struggle for freedom in this region because, as Jozsef Eotvos [19th century writer] said, it is not necessary to proclaim if there is no shooting. It is easy to proclaim if the demonstration is not dispersed. It is easy to proclaim the freedom ideals if there is a possibility for this. It is much, much more difficult, however, to organize, to render operable, and maintain what we have achieved in the spirit of freedom.

For precisely this reason, I ask my compatriots on this day, when all of us have appealed to everyone, that what should prevail is not party battles, not partisanship, not orations addressed against one another. It should be agreement, the collective goal, which predominates and is the slogan, the spiritual guideline of this 15 March. [applause]

On 15 March we must consider that we must now implement an historical task and an historical deed. The 12 points [program first read on 15 March 1848] formulated the demand of the time, formulated what the youth felt at the time. Furthermore, at the Diet in Bratislava the professional politicians knew that this appeal, these 12 points, gave force and impetus, so through constitutional means, with a constitutional revolution, Hungary's internal system should be renewed, and Hungarian political democracy should be created in the manner that was possible at that time and amidst the circumstances at that time. Because politics is not only a goal, not only a possibility; the right conditions are also necessary. [passage omitted]

We must take the possibilities as our point of departure. What are our possibilities? We now have the possibility that amidst circumstances promising a future involving extensive conditions of peace internationally—although amidst serious internal tensions, national-nationality struggles in Europe—we can nonetheless set ourselves to this task in peace. We must undertake building work not in a country that lost a war and lay in ruins, but in a poorly built country, a country filled with faulty structures.

We must deal with poorly constructed structures, and this often is more difficult than building in a country that was defeated, which was shot into bits, which was devastated, because people, individuals, and collectives, do not feel that we have emerged from the cellar. They do not embrace one another and say: My friend, we are still alive. They do not greet one another amidst burned ruins with the words: We survived this too. Of necessity, and understandably, owing to the uncertainty, they fear for their small lives, the lives of their families, which they laborously sweated out, which they created with difficulty. They go forth each day with serious material problems, with serious tribulations, with uncertainty; there is no security; they feel that tomorrow they perhaps will be unemployed and will have nothing to give their family.

A difficult year lies ahead of us. I cannot promise easy dreams, I cannot promise false hopes on behalf of government, but I can promise that if we stand unflinchingly in this difficult hour, in these difficult months and in these difficult years, then we will emedrge from this ditch. We can count on one another, and if freedom, equality, and fraternity together are ours, and if we perceive the fraternity together, then there indeed will be advance. [passage omitted]

We must stand here unflinchingly, not only in belief, in freedom, but also in everyday work; then there will be a Hungarian resergence [magyar feltamadas], there will be

a Hungarian advance—this depends on all of us [applause]. To this end I ask for all my compatriots' confidence and faith, for all your help. Thank you. [applause]

Goncz Gives Speech in Budapest

LD1503123591 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0815 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Speech by President Arpad Goncz at Kossuth Square in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] My fellow countrymen, 15 March was always a cherished and beloved national holiday of ours. I am happy, and I hope that every fellow countryman of mine shares my happiness, that this day has regained its rightful splendor after a long time. Let us not forget that when we elevated 15 March to the rank of national holiday again, we also evaluated ourselves at the same time. Now we openly assert, and have testified, that we consider the ideals of 1848 as our own and wish to learn lessons from it for the future.

The year 1848 was one of those rare occasions in Hungarian history when the struggle for national independence and the struggle for social progress were united. [passage omitted] Another glorious moment of our history—the 1956 revolution—was also characterized by this. The joint aim, the final aim, was the same in both cases: the creation of a bourgeois society, a genuine democracy, and a republic. The task awaits us of completing the ideal of a republic and making it a living reality.

What does this task mean in the life of a nation, and especially here, in Central Europe? Kossuth [leader of 1848 independence movement] gave the answer to this: the strength of tyranny lies in the hatred of peoples for each other. The love of people, races, and nations for each other is the source of the welfare of countries and the deterrent to tyranny. We have not experienced this effect of national independence yet, or only for a very short time in the great moments of revolution. We have to talk about this today: this faith has to lead us. [passage omitted]

Independence does not mean distancing or isolating oneself from the big family of peoples. An independent nation of its own free will seeks a solution for the vital questions shared by the peoples surrounding it, overcoming the hatred born out of tyranny and oppression. The peoples of Central Europe have to find ways of cooperating, especially today, when democracy provides this opportunity. After a long period, our region has been liberated from the oppressive influence of a great power. The friendly relations of these now- independent states are not directed against anyone. Central Europe has to stand its ground in the community of nations with its newly founded political and economic strength, in the spirit of reciprocity sprouting from the soil of equality and national autonomy. I believe that, in our region, every country will eventually realize that their prosperity and success cannot be achieved without cooperation. [passage omitted]

The only task of our Army, which is the successor of Kossuth's Army, is the protection of our country, even today. For nothing can be solved by military might—this is what history and the memory of March teaches us. The memory, that starts in the past but looks ahead to the future, and the example of 1848 proves what Hungary can achieve if it is independent. The nation resurrected from apparent death has retained its strength, and now it is up to us to prove that this strength is active and creative, even in the work and struggle of everyday life. We believe that the word revolution cannot only be used to refer to the young men of March or the events of the street of Pest. Revolution today is a process—a process of creating a democratic constitutional state, an operational economy, modern interest protection, and finally a sometimes painful and demanding and sometimes immense and puzzling process of establishing a boureois society. This, however, has to be undertaken by us through fire or water, in the firm knowledge of its success.

I hope that the impatient patience of 1848 will live on in us—impatience in wanting to do good and patience toward each other, in order that we may be able to say: We are the rightful inheritors of 1848. Only such a generation can claim this which really fulfills the ideals of 1848. Thank you.

Antall Speaks on Anniversary of German Occupation

LD1903102891 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0807 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Address by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, Esteemed House: I think that a working legislature that must enact new legislation again and again through important and successive efforts, should by all means remember 19 March 1944 for a few moments. Excuse me for doing so, in part for personal reasons, and in part for me to express to the National Assembly, in front of the country and the world, the political creed and position of the government that is answerable to this National Assembly. My conviction and hope is that there are no differences among us.

I remember very vividly and very well the night of 19 March 1944 when the regent was away. The government was here, with the exception of a few ministers. What gives this National Assembly a special profile is that our speaker by seniority, Colonel General Kalman Keri is in our midst, who at that time, together with the interior minister, directed the surveillance and control of the German troops that entered all night. On behalf of the minister of the interior and the minister of defense, he facilitated the provision of information to all National Assembly deputies, all the left-wing political leaders, and the foreigners who at the time were here in Hungary. Numerous people in this way escaped from captivity by the Gestapo. This day is a remembrance of the fact that the Hitlerite German troops entered Hungary, and as a result, Hungary de jure lost its sovereignty on 19 March 1944.

If a situation arises for this National Assembly and government—and I trust this will be so—in which there will be no foreign troops on Hungary's territory on 30 June, then we will have reached the end of a historical process—the restoration of Hungary's full sovereignty. It is expedient and befitting, however, to remember this day, 19 March, when the Hitlerite German troops entered Hungary. I would also like to point out that Hungary had been at war for years. There had been serious ordeals, breaches of law. Laws were in force that went against human rights and humanity.

No one should forget that also at that time, until 19 March 1944, Europe's largest Jewish community was then still alive here. No one should forget that tens of thousands of foreign refugees and homeless people were still living here in relative security. No one should forget that the parties that are here now, and about which much is said, consider themselves inheritors of the political ideals that opposed Hitlerite Germany and believed in parliamentary democracy.

I am saying this at a time when accusations are levied against political parties that also participate in the government coalition. I think we must remember on this day all the politicians who contrarily exerted their utmost for this purpose.

I can sum it up with the title of the book by (Antall Juranyiveczky), one-time Hungarian envoy to Stockholm, who published this when he was an emigre: German War, Russian Peace. This was the title of his memoirs. He was the person who went abroad in 1943, in part with the objective of being one of the mediators in Sweden, which was neutral at the time. We must also remember that this day is important for everyone, and we should not pass it by without remembering this.

I also think the day is exemplary because irrespective of political views, those who were together in national thinking, in their belief in political democracy, or at least in opposition to Hitlerite Germany, were able to warn one another. Later in the prisons too they again were together without differences of views.

Every such day should serve as a caution. They should caution us that we are burdened with responsibility, responsibility for our statements, our deeds, and the kind of political forces that might become active, the kind of political mentality that comes out of the walls. We should also remember that whether it is an extreme right or extreme left political view, together they endanger the Hungarian political democracy that is being born, and this must obligate us. I would like to emphasize that this government, as long as I lead it, in the spirit of this, in the spirit of full restoration of sovereignty, will oppose every crude ideal of the extreme right and the extreme left.

This is my own conviction and the coalition parties obligate me to do this. I think there may be differences in the political parties, outside and inside, but there are basic issues in which these cannot exist, and the parties that existed historically struggled in this spirit. I think it is necessary to remember this within parties, and also outside of parties, since these parties also provided a large proportion of the victims of Hitlerite Germany, Hitlerism, and Stalinism. Thank you for listening to me, and I trust that this again is a basic issue on which we all agree. Thank you. [applause]

Independent Smallholders's Party Dismisses Leader

LD1903095191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0820 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Remarks by Deputy Sandor Olah, Independent Smallholders' Party (FKgP) general secretary, at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, Esteemed National Assembly: I give special thanks for the consideration of the presidium, that it has warned us of an omission. For this reason, I, by way of informing the esteemed National Assembly, must make an announcement: Yesterday [18 March], the group of deputies of the Independent Smallholders', Landworkers', and Bourgeois Party with a majority vote relieved fellow deputy Dr. Jozsef Torgyan from his position as faction leader. [slight applause] At this meeting of the group of deputies there was not enough time for us also to decide in the matter of continuity, of personnel issues regarding the leadership. For this reason, I can give the information that the leadership that has remained in place will perform the faction leadership collectively on the basis of a democratic division of labor, until the election of a leader, which hopefully will be conducted in the coming days, and until I am able to inform you in a further annoucement about the person of the elected leader of our group of deputies. Thank you for you patience.

KDNP Chairman Notes Party's Growing Strength

LD1603170791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] The Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] intends to become a decisive political force at the coming elections. Gabor Kereszty reports on the session of their board.

[Kereszty] We can state that there is no force outside the center parties which make up the coalition which would be suitable to govern the country. This was stated by Laszlo Surjan, minister of social welfare and chairman of the KDNP. The party's membership has grown fivefold since the session of the board in May last year. Therefore, although it does not as yet rank among the large

parties, the KDNP will become a determining force at future elections, if only because the membership of the so-called large parties is declining.

Speaking about compensation, he said that in the event the law is adopted the former stratum of owners that, in past decades, had been offended against most will gain strength and at last definitive ownership, which is needed for economic transformation, will evolve. The KDNP urges that the compensation vouchers should not devalue in the hands of those who do not understand stock exchange transactions and that these could be turned into a life annuity.

Laszlo Surjan hinted that further, necessary price rises will come this year. To moderate the effect, additional social compensation will be needed even at the expense of using up the budget reserves. Of course, public donations and funds are also expected to contribute.

New Members of MDF Parliamentary Group Chosen

LD1803102791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Istvan Csurka, Imre Korosi, and Laszlo Salamon are the new members of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] parliamentary group. It had been rumored earlier that the MDF groups would hold a two-round session to clear up the internal disputes. This will not be necessary, however, because the group considers the matter closed after yesterday's consultations.

Finance Minister Outlines Economic Problems

LD1803161591 Budapest MTI in English 1424 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 18, 1991 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Specific programmes tailored to various branches of the economy which will be part and parcel of the Hungarian Government's four-year economic package—included are industrial, trade, tourism and foreign economic programmes—will be ready by the middle of April, Hungarian Minister of Finance Mihaly Kupa told a board meeting of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce today.

He stressed that there were two fundamental sources of tension in the Hungarian economy at the moment.

One is the delays caused by the uncertainties surrounding ownership relations, and the other is the lack of coordination between employers and employees.

The minister agreed that a protective customs system was needed to prevent domestic industry from developing a series of handicaps. Another headache the Hungarian economy is facing is the future of East European trade, a problem which urgently needs to be ironed out. The Hungarian finance minister therefore intends going to Moscow at the end of this month to speed up talks and try to find a satisfactory solution.

Kupa Queried on New Economic Program, Criticisms

AU1803140091 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 15 Mar 91 p 9

[Interview with Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa by Maria Lakatos; place and date not given: "The Program Remained Unchanged"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] We asked Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa about the economic program approved last week, about Hungary's prospects, and about the reasons behind the finance minister's self-confidence—a very rare characteristic these days. At the moment, Mihaly Kupa single-handedly directs the Hungarian economy, for which he is responsible.

[Lakatos] Your statements and public appearances all indicate one thing: Whatever the circumstances, you always talk with self-confidence about the present, and particularly about the future. Where does this self-confidence come from?

[Kupa] One reason for my self-confidence is the fact that society greatly supports me; at least, that is what I feel. Moreover, I am convinced that following the trials of the next few years, we will overcome the present situation. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] One of the main critics of your program was Minister for International Economic Relations Bela Kadar, who asked for large-scale state support in order to boost Hungary's exports; this goes against your own concept. What kind of a program did the government approve in the end?

[Kupa] Two weeks ago, at an extraordinary economic cabinet meeting designed to clear up divergences, we emphasized the foreign trade orientation of our program, without allocating any further funds to this end. At the subsequent government session, greater emphasis was put on legislative aspects, but in the end, the program remained unchanged. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] Many people believe that the budget will have to be modified soon because of a sudden increase in unemployment rates. In your opinion, how many people will find themselves unemployed?

[Kupa] In my opinion, a total of 300,000 people will find themselves without a job, in my opinion. Fortunately, following the National Assembly's wise decision to accept the employment fund, we put money aside for benefits. Many people, however, have already applied to receive the money that we have put aside, our reserves—applicants include the Hungarian Television, the Hungarian Radio, and MTI. The latest decision of the Constitutional Court to establish administrative courts will cost altogether 1.5 billion forints. The real problem is that the situation in several municipal self-governing bodies has to be settled, because these bodies do not have

sufficient income. Budapest will be another issue, once the self-governing body has published its balance. On the whole, however, we do not intend to revise the budget. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] Janos Palotas, chairman of the National Association of Entrepreneurs [Vallalkozok Orszagos Szovetsege], has worked out a new economic policy that would stimulate business. Will you take such suggestions into consideration?

[Kupa] I have not read Janos Palotas' program, but I think that our own program also contains quite a few "business-friendly gestures." Incidentally, I am prepared to steal all good ideas, and I am greatly anticipating the SZDSZ's [Alliance of Free Democrats] program. [passage omitted]

[Lakatos] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's latest speeches clearly indicate that you enjoy the prime minister's full confidence, and that you have been invested with full powers in the economic area. Why is that?

[Kupa] Perhaps that is the result of my stamina at work, and the fact that together with the National Bank of Hungary, the Finance Ministry has the most effective apparatus at its disposal. Furthermore, the prime minister believes that government sessions should not be burdened with economic policy debates. The appropriate place for such debates is within the economic cabinet, and one person should be responsible for decisions.

Antall Not Attending Europe Roundtable Conference

LD1903104491 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] Owing to important tasks at home, the Hungarian prime minister will not travel to Vienna this weekend to attend the Europe Roundtable conference. This is what Jozsef Antall's foreign affairs adviser said in reply to a question from MAGYAR HIRLAP. Earlier, the newspaper had written that the Hungarian prime minister and Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian legislature, might meet in the Austrian capital.

Goncz Leaves on Unofficial Visit to Belgium

LD1803112791 Budapest MTI in English 0951 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 18 (MTI)—Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, left on an unofficial visit to Beligum on Monday. The president is accompanied by his wife.

Goncz is scheduled to meet HM [His Majesty] King Baudouin of Belgium, and Queen Fabiola, Charles-Ferdinand Nothom, president of the Chamber of Representatives, leading Belgian public figures, and representatives of Hungarians living in Beligum.

Goncz will also visit the University of Brussels, and, together with other leading figures in the revolutionary transformation of the East-Central European region, will receive an honorary doctorate from the University.

Official on Advantages of United CSFR, SFRY

LD1403145191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 14 Mar 91

[Text] It is in Hungary's interest that neighboring states of a federative regime—like Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, despite the present difficulties—do not disintegrate.

Foreign Affairs State Secretary Tamas Katona talked about this in Vienna, where he attended the 15 March celebration of the Hungarians of Austria. Prior to this, he met journalists and outlined the government's stance about a few topical questions. He said that the Hungarian leadership is aware that any new regime that wants to carry out the necessary political and economic transformation separately and not together is doomed to failure.

Foreign Ministry on Eastern European Relations

AU1803200091 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 15 Mar 91 p 9

[Interview with Foreign Ministry State Secretary Tamas Katona by Katalin Decsi; place and date not given: "One Cannot Live and Engage in Politics Against Each Other"—first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] Eastern-Central Europe is living through an animated period burdened with crises. As a politician and historian, how does Tamas Katona see our region and Hungary?

[Katona] The old institutional frameworks have collapsed in our region: CEMA is practically in ruins and the military organization of the Warsaw Pact will cease to exist on 1 April. We should find new forms of cooperation. There is some sort of natural cooperation between Hungary, Poland, and the CSFR because we have common problems and endeavors, and there are many similarities in our situation. We must be extremely careful, however, not to create a new "Visegrad bloc" to replace the Warsaw Pact; in other words, our cooperation should be directed neither against Germany nor against the Soviet Union, because we are talking here about two of our most important economic partners.

Hungary was the first to start on the road of democratization, and this was the logical consequence of 1956. The defeat of that revolution and the years of terror were followed by a period of a soft dictatorship, one that provided the opportunity for a long and peaceful transition. [passage omitted]

[Decsi] Do you not fear that the flow of Hungarian refugees will also begin from Yugoslavia and the CSFR?

[Katona] No, because the situation in these two countries is different from that prevailing in Romania. At the moment, there are no social tensions in the aforementioned two countries which would lead to a flow of refugees. [sentence as published] It is mostly a lack of social security that makes people run away.

The danger of a flow of refugees from the Soviet Union is real, because a civil war situation could emerge. We must be prepared for both situations. We talked with countries in a similar situation with Hungary and we are praying that no upheaval will take place in Russia, because this is not in our interest at all. [passage omitted]

[Decsi] The Hungarian-Romanian relations continue to be unsettled.

[Katona] We have bad memories about the Ceausescu-Kadar and Ceausescu-Grosz meetings. We do not want to increase the number of such meetings. We do not see any reason to travel hundreds and hundreds of kilometers to merely shake hands. We are waiting for the first signs of genuine Romanian readiness. Instead, we only receive criticism. When [Romanian Foreign Minister] Mr. Nastase invited [Hungarian Foreign Minister] Geza Jeszenszky to Bucharest, the ban on celebrating 15 March had already been issued by Prime Minister Petre Roman. Furthermore, worrisome statements have also been made lately, like the one in favor of "organizing a guard." We remember such a guard [reference to the fascist organization Iron Guard during World War II], and we do not want to see another one. I think the road of these two countries is fraught with many dangers. [passage omitted]

Skubiszewski on Soviet Troop Withdrawal, Transit

LD1803193291 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Here are details of the remarks by Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski when asked whether the Polish attitude had changed over the connection between the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Eastern Germany and its withdrawal from Poland. Here is what the head of Polish diplomacy said:

[Begin Skubiszewski recording] Poland never wanted—she did not even think of it—to block the transit of the Soviet troops from Germany to the USSR. It is in the interest of all of Europe as well as Poland that the Soviet Army be withdrawn from the former area of the GDR, and we are doing everything in our power, although that entire enormous operation was decided by the Germans and the USSR without any kind of understanding with us—after all we are the transit state. The issue requires particular regulation.

That transit is so enormous—I am not going to repeat well- known facts—that a separate treaty is needed, although there has not been one so far, so it can take place in an orderly, peaceful, and civilized manner and so any difficulties or incidents can be resolved on a legal and political basis. I think that the Polish attitude here is both in the German and Soviet interest, although I must say with certain surprise that this was not always understood in the West and in the East.

After all, the draft of the transit treaty is a Polish draft—at the beginning we heard that that transit could take place without any treaty regulation. I cannot imagine that either of these two states, the FRG or the USSR, if they were to be involved with a similar transit, would agree to its being carried out without a treaty.

We anticipate that the peak of the transit from Germany, if the dates are not changed, will fall in 1992 and 1993. That is why it would be better if the Soviet Army left Poland before that transit peak, and we are also talking about this and hope that they will even start to leave Poland before too long—as soon as April and May. The operations vary in scope. There is a far larger Army in the FRG, and that is why the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Poland can and should take place considerably more quickly. [end recording]

Skubiszewski Outlines Foreign Policy Goals

LD1803204691 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Warsaw, March 18—Presenting guidelines of the Polish foreign policy, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski told a press conference today that a Polish-American declaration, to be signed during the coming visit by President Lech Walesa to the U.S., would set up some rules of political cooperation in the international arena but would not forge an alliance between the two countries.

The visit will help consolidate Polish-American relations and make the American policy towards Poland become independent istead of just being a derivative of the U.S. approach towards the USSR or Germany, Skubiszewski added.

Skubiszewski stated that the announced visit to the Soviet Union by Walesa was not related to his stay in the U.S., stressing that both sides wanted to meet each other. The moment Lech Walesa became president, he thought it was indispensable to take significant moves towards the USSR and meet President Mikhail Gorbachev, he said.

The foreign minister denied Soviet press reports to the effect that Poland will take advantage of unrest in the USSR to lay territorial claims on that country, saying that there are no grounds for such statements as Poland regards the line of its eastern border as definite and final.

In reference to a provision on the rights of German minority in Poland, to be included in a Polish-German treaty, Skubiszewski stated that the Polish Government did not oppose it. However, it is not going to find special settlements for Germans and rules out granting territorial autonomy for German minority in Silesia, the minister added.

Speaking about a treaty with France, Skubiszewski termed it as a treaty of cooperation and solidarity. It is not an alliance against anyone, neither is it a factor balancing the power of Germany. It is extremely important to create a system of security through bilateral ties between France, Germany and Poland, Skubiszewski told newsmen. [passage omitted]

Walesa, Bielecki Discuss Economic Reform, Debt

LD1803132791 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Andrezj Jelenski report]

[Text] A meeting between President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki ended a few minutes ago. The talk was of the forthcoming visit by the president of the Republic to the United States. It was stressed that this visit will have great significance for Poland—as much political as economic. In the course of the talks it was also stressed that the reduction of debts is a great political success. To remind you, such a decision was made last Friday by the Paris Club. After the meeting with the president, the prime minister told journalists that at the moment a decision is awaited from the London Club, associating private banks, to whom we owe 11 billion dollars. The prime minister stressed that the success attained in the negotiations relating to the reduction of Polish debt is above all a success by Polish—here I draw your attention—a success by Polish

society—these are the words of the Prime Minister—which is patiently bearing the hardships of the reform of the Polish economy.

Prime minister Bielecki also stressed that much still depends on the decisions of the IMF, which is to meet in the last third of April to confirm that Poland is traveling the correct road of reform in the economy. As a reminder to you, the London Club meets tomorrow and is to discuss the remission of our indebtedness. The prime minister also drew attention to the following matter: Polish reforms have a great opportunity for success if Western capital enters our market—large enterprises and firms that count for something in the world. This will be the best guarantee for Poland that economically we have moved on.

UK's Minister of State Pays Official Visit

LD1803143791 Warsaw PAP in English 1250 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—Douglas Hogg, British minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs who has responsibility for Eastern Europe and the Middle East is visiting Poland from March 17 to 19.

During the visit he will have talks with Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Janusz Ziolkowski in the President's Chancellery and in the Defence Ministry.

Hogg will also call on Speaker of the Sejm Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and meet members of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, members of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee and members of the Polish-British parliamentary group for a round-table discussion.

Douglas Hogg will also be meeting a range of people connected with the Know How Fund's activities in Poland and briefing himself on the Fund's operations.

Geremek Comments on Political 'Schizophrenia'

AU1803155291 Warsaw PAP in English 2144 GMT 13 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 13—Referring to the Parliament's decision on delayed elections and related stands by individual parties and organizations, the head of the Democratic Union Parliamentary Caucus (KPUD), Bronislaw Geremek, said that the aggressive attitude of political groups rallied around the Centre Alliance and the National Citizens' Committee reflects a kind of schizophrenia as certain political groups are determined to capitalize on it.

During a press conference here today, members of the caucus said they consistently voiced their support for the shortening of the Sejm's term and holding elections as soon as possible but with full respect for democracy.

Asked to comment on the recent nomination of Lech Kaczynski, the twin brother of Jaroslaw Kaczynski who is the head of the President's Chancellery, as a minister of state in the President's Office, Geremek said that the president had the right to take decisions within his powers and was responsible for them.

The Democratic Union Parliamentary Caucus represents deputies-members of the Democratic Union, "ROAD" (Citizens' Movement Democratic Action) and the Forum of the Democratic Right-wing.

Report on Balcerowicz News Conference

AU1903103191 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Mar 91 p 1

[Krzysztof Bien report: "Results Are More Important Than Popularity"]

[Text] An economic growth by several percent in 1991, the reduction of inflation to 13 percent, the chance of a decision on canceling our debts within the next few weeks, and the need to exercise political constraint during the Sejm election campaign are the most important statements and views expressed by Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz at a news conference at the Office of the Council of Ministers on 13 March.

L. Balcerowicz pointed out the gradual fall in inflation from 2,000 percent per year in autumn 1989 down to 35 percent today. There is a chance that inflation will be reduced to a European level this year, he said.

He said that the most important tasks this year are a further stabilization of wages and prices, economic changes (including the privatization and commercialization of enterprises), and the creation of an infrastructure of financial support for investors, mainly private ones. These objectives do not mean a straightforward continuation of last year's economic policy. The stabilization that has been achieved is already an important development factor, and only serious blunders could cause a loss of it. The restructuring that has started should also provide its first results soon.

L. Balcerowicz did not provide excessive data with which to illustrate his remarks, but he did say that there is a possibility for a several percent economic growth this year (even more as far as consumption is concerned), and a 5-7 percent growth in 1992-93. However, this chance depends not just on economic factors, but also the Sejm election campaign. The deputy prime minister hoped that political victory in the election would not be achieved at the country's expense.

The questions L. Balcerowicz answered included ones on the subject of reducing Poland's debts. "Currently we are in an important phase of negotiations, and the results can be expected within the next few weeks," he said. "It is almost certain, however, that we can achieve a 'serious solution' consisting of two stages; the first stage when the agreement is signed, and the second stage during its implementation." L. Balcerowicz said that there are various ways of arriving at the same goal, the liberation

from our debt burden over the next few years. Both the capital sum and the interest may be reduced, he said.

Other questions were on the controversial subject of reprivatization. L. Balcerowicz said one must respect the rights of former owners, but the negative experience of the former GDR tells us that reprivatization must not be an obstacle to the rapid privatization of the economy, which is the supreme objective.

There were two questions about the stability of the convertible currency rate of exchange, but the answer was always the same—the rate of exchange is a component of economic stability. "There is strong pressure to devalue the zloty in relation to the dollar, but one must remember that imports would then become more expensive. We could achieve capitalism without foreign competition, but it would be a most inefficient capitalism. The experience of the former GDR also tells us to make sure our Polish producers are competitive. This experience shows that the process of changing from one economic system to another is not an easy one, yet the GDR was the most prosperous country with a command economy.

There were also questions about whether the government was aware of the criticism its economic program was receiving, and what its author felt about it. "The criticism was to be expected," Balcerowicz replied. "The program is demanding, and the point is to achieve results, not personal popularity."

New Secretary of State for Security Appointed

AU1703163091 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Mar 91 p 2

['A.F.T' report: "The Other Kaczynski Replaces Merkel"]

[Text] On Tuesday, 12 March, Jacek Merkel handed President Lech Walesa his resignation from the post of secretary of state for national security affairs. At the same time he ceased to be secretary in the Committee for National Defense. The president named Lech Kaczynski as his replacement.

We remind the reader that Jacek Merkel has served as secretary of state for security affairs since 28 December 1990, when he ceased to be chairman of the Presidential Chancellery. His present office is now occupied by Jaroslaw Kaczynski.

Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said that Merkel had given fatigue caused by the pressure of work in recent months as the reason for his resignation. Drzycimski declined to say anything more on this subject. Asked whether Merkel's resignation had come as a surprise to Walesa, Drzycimski replied that such an action should be considered normal. "Everyone is entitled to suddenly feel he needs a change. Everyone should be able to derive satisfaction from knowing that he can resign and that the world will not collapse as a result," he said.

Drzycimski denied that Merkel had resigned in connection with the talks on the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland. "Neither does his resignation have anything to do with the wave of criticism about the activities of Walesa's colleagues," he said. "There has been no conflict between Walesa and Merkel, and I do not think there was any conflict between Merkel and Jaroslaw Kaczynski. Merkel has asked for temporary release. After he has recuperated, I am sure he will continue political activity."

In a statement on behalf of the Democratic Union, Piotr Nowina-Konopka commented on Kaczynski's appointment as new secretary of state for security. He said he was surprised that two brothers were both ministers of state at the same time, and in a situation where one of them, as head of the Presidential Chancellery, is calling for the dissolution of the Sejm and trying to stir up pressure to achieve this, and the other is responsible for national security in the Presidential Office.

We failed to get in touch with Merkel and Kaczynski. A few politicians linked to the Presidential Chancellery and Center Accord refused to comment on Merkel's resignation, claiming they were not authorized to do so and did not wish to corrupt the president's impartial decision with their own private information.

All we can do is speculate. Several days ago there was still talk of appointing Bogdan Borusewicz head of the Presidential Chancellery to demonstrate the political impartiality of the Presidential Office.

Why did Merkel resign? For several weeks there has been talk of a search for a civilian minister of national defense. Will it be Merkel? We do not know yet.

Lipski Resigns as Socialist Party Leader

LD1703230491 Warsaw PAP in English 1808 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 17—Senator Jan Jozef Lipski resigned from the leadership of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) and all other party functions on Saturday [16 March].

Lipski told PAP today that the reason for his decision was the wrong direction of the party's press and no reaction to it on the part of the leadership.

Center Accord Chairman Calls For Fall Elections

LD1903104891 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Text] It is now too late to hold elections on 26 May, especially since there is no electoral law, said the head of the Center Accord, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, during a meeting with party activists in Elblag. In his opinion,

only the fall is possible, and this deadline must be kept. I do not see the possibility of more intense changes within our country without the elections of a new Sejm, Jaroslaw Kaczynski stressed, adding that the Center Accord will propose a draft law to smash the nomenklatura before the elections. He also pointed to the possibility of an electoral coalition between the Center Accord, Solidarity, and the Citizens' Committees.

Occupation Strike Begins at Gdansk Shipyard

LD1803115591 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Telephone interview with Solidarity Commission Deputy Chairman Jerzy Borowczak by unidentified reporter in Gdansk on 18 March—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] A strike action has started today at the Gdansk shipyard. As the strikers are occupying the shipyard gate, we were not able to talk on the spot with the organizers. We telephoned the deputy chairman of the Solidarity Commission at the Gdansk shipyard, Jerzy Borowczak. [Borowczak] We, as the Solidarity trade union, have several dozen times appealed to the government, even to the Sejm, to the president, for the resolution of the situation at the Gdansk shipyard—the estimate of liquidation costs and the calculation of a new wages fund. But you see, this is the way in which the government causes the lack of credibility of the trade unions. In the Gdansk shipyard there are around 3,000 people without membership in any trade union, and I suspect that today it is precisely they who have started the strike action, bringing about an occupation strike. This is a group of people, about 500 strong, who has won control of the gates of the shipyard, and their demands read as follows: an increase in wages, on average by 25,000 zlotys [Z] per hour; full compensation to offset price increases; the payment by 25 March of Z1 million [word indistinct] (?pay) for the month of February; and payment for the strike period as for a holiday.

[Reporter] How do you envisage this? How long might this strike action last?

[Borowczak] It is difficult for me to tell, for on Friday we announced a strike alert. This was published by the press and was on television. Well, from this morning we have a strike. The Strike Committee is comprised of Mrs. Anna Walentynowicz and Boguslaw Spodziejak, who are members of—although this is an unregistered trade union—the Free Trade Unions of the Coast [Wolne Zwiazki Zawodowe Wybrzeza]. It is difficult to say how long this will last. Solidarity has a meeting of its Enterprise Commission at 1300. In the situation that has arisen we, too, will have to adopt some sort of stance.

Farmers' Solidarity Plans Protests Against Policy

LD1603194891 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Interview with Private Farmers' Solidarity Chairman Gabriel Janowski by Grazyna Zielinska on 16 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] The Private Farmers' Solidarity is cautioning the government. The National Council of the Private Farmers' Solidarity met today at an extraordinary session. Grazyna Zielinska has been speaking to the union's chairman, Gabriel Janowski, about the decisions adopted at the meeting.

[Zielinski] What is the background to the resolution adopted today, a resolution which is, after all, very important for your union? There were even some today who said that this was a crucial resolution.

[Janowski] It is important not only for our union. I believe it is impoortant for farmers and also for Poland in some ways. This resolution is the result of talks that have been held for over a month now with the government on the principles of agricultural policy, or, more broadly, on the principles of economic policy. Despite earlier declarations that this policy would be changed, it is, unfortunately, being continued. The farmers cannot agree to this, because it is a policy that in some ways destroys the market.

[Zielinska] You have announced a nationwide protest action for 22 March.

[Janowski] Yes. From 1100 until 1400 there will be a countrywide blockade of roads, and on 5 April we will submit petitions to the state authorities concerning agricultural policy, petitions which will be brought to Warsaw by farmers from all over Poland.

[Zielinska] How will this protest action be received by those who are not farmers?

[Janowski] To continue this economic policy in its present form is impossible, and we are pressing for change - not only we but the whole of society. The point is that this change should take place in the best possible way—that is, without violent protests. That is why the action we have undertaken is meant, first and foremost, to coordinate these actions and not allow an uncontrolled explosion.

Talks Yield No Agreement On Minimum Wage

AU1703164291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Mar 91 p 2

[Antoni Kowalik report: "What Minimum Wage?"]

[Text] The government-trade union talks held at the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy on 12 March failed

to establish the minimum level of wages for the second quarter of 1991, which means that they will have to be repeated.

The trade union side rejected the government's suggested minimum of 600,000 zlotys [Z] per month, 35 percent of the Z1.7 million average monthly salary in February, which is also the average monthly salary envisaged in the second quarter. The trade unionists also questioned the way in which this figure had been calculated. According to their calculations, which take into account the amount people spent on food in December, the average monthly wage should be at least Z200,000 higher, or else the average family will be unable to feed itself.

The government arrived at its suggested figure after considering the effects an excessive increase of the minimum wage would have. Weak economic units, especially small ones, would go bankrupt if they were forced to increase wages too much, as a result of which unemployment would rise even more. According to Main Statistical Office figures, 106 enterprises with a total of 14,000 employees would be forced to close down in industry alone.

Another reason why the trade union side rejected the government figure was the direct linkage between minimum wages and unemployment benefit. In this situation, higher wages automatically mean higher benefit, and therefore a greater strain on the labor fund. A greater strain on the labor fund would rule out the possibility of activating the labor market.

It was agreed that unemployment benefit would be "untied" from minimum wages as soon as possible. That requires an amendment to the law, which will soon be undertaken in any case. If the amendment is adopted quickly, new conditions for negotiating minimum wages will not be created earlier than the third quarter. Therefore, talks on minimum wages for the second quarter will have to taken the present reality into account.

'Average Real Wage' Drops, Retail Prices Rise

LD1603174191 Warsaw PAP in English 1621 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 16—Wages of Polish employees dropped by 0.1 per cent in February against their January levels, a phenomenon unprecedented in the Polish economy, according to reports released by the Central Planning Office (CUP). When compared with December last year, the average real wage in Poland decreased by 13 per cent over the first two months of this year but was higher by 3 per cent than in the same period last year. The relationship between wages and production, however, was unfavourable as each per cent of increase in labour productivity was coupled by a 2 per cent growth of the average wage. The nominal value of money in circulation increased by 13 trillion zlotys but their real value was lower by 8.5 per cent than last December. Meanwhile, the retail prices of goods and services were higher by over 20 per cent in February than in December last year. The prices of food grew by 14.7 per cent, while those of durables by 19.3 per cent in the first months of the year, following the increase in prices of electricity, gas, fuels and coal introduced at the beginning of the year.

Industrial Production Drops January-February

LD1803213491 Warsaw PAP in English 1854 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—The industrial production in Poland dropped by 3.2 percent in the first two months of 1991 against the same period of last year, according to a report released by the Central Planning Office (CUP). This drop may result in a failure to achieve the 4-percent growth of the national income projected for this year.

In January and February the 8- and 11-percent growth of production was noted only in the paper and food industries respectively, while in other processing branches production dropped by 6.4 percent

As the amount of money in circulation assigned for production was only by 1.9 percent higher in the end of February than in the end of 1990, the planning office does not expect the recession to be overcome in the near future.

January, February Economic Statistics Reported

LD1903062791 Warsaw PAP in English 2306 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—Prices of goods and consumer services grew slower last February (by 6.7 percent) than last January (by 12.7 percent).

The state budget after two months of this year has reached 1.7 trillion zlotys in surplus of revenues over expenditures.

In February the real incomes of families obtained from their wages grew by 6.9 percent while those obtained from social allowances by 0.5 percent.

There were 41 strike actions last February in which some 16.2 thousand workers took part. The related losses are estimated at 53.4 thousand working days.

Poll Indicates Rise of Social Dissatisfaction

AU1703163791 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 13 Mar 91 p 6

['En'-signed report: "Alarm Bells for Politicians"]

[Text] The latest public opinion poll results released by the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP], should be ringing alarm bells among politicians. Those polled believe that the situation is bad, and they do not believe that things will get any better. These are the implications behind the results of this OBOP poll. The

poll was carried out on 4 and 5 March with 1,000 participants. The people polled were asked the usual questions; namely, whether they thought things in Poland were going in the right or wrong direction, what the people's mood was, how the economic situation was developing, and whether the participant was satisfied with the way democracy was developing in Poland.

The public mood is getting worse. The direction of change is thought to be wrong (37 percent—in December 1990 this figure was only 13 percent). Farmers who were polled were the most pessimistic. Positive aspects of the changes were highlighted by self-employed people (50 percent of this group said they were satisfied), and by white-collar workers who had a university degree (47 percent). Almost 50 percent of those polled were of the opinion that the situation in the country has worsened. Only 15 percent think it will get better. An improvement in the next three years is foreseen by only about 34 percent and another 31 percent are not optimistic. Almost 25 percent consider things will get worse. Given the present crisis (almost an economic collapse) we must surmount, the fact that every fourth Pole thinks things will get worse is a clear indication of the deep social pessimism.

The development of democracy—the goal that has kept society going—no longer motivates everyone. Only 31 percent are still satisfied with the way things are developing (last December, it was 50 percent), and 59 percent (more than half of the population) have expressed dissatisfaction.

Additionally, the confidence the public has in the institutions of public life, as well as the Catholic church, seems to be declining. As always, the church comes in at first place. Almost 70 percent of those polled expressed their confidence in the church. Approximately, 69 percent expressed confidence in the Armed Forces, but only 51 percent have confidence in the government, and 38 percent expressed confidence in the Sejm. This crisis of confidence is equally alarming, as is the growth of social pessimism and the loss of faith in Polish democracy and the chosen direction of the changes.

Due to the fact that these indicators are accompanied by the belief that strikes do more harm (64 percent of those polled) than good (23 percent), one can speak of clear social apathy. Who is going to be able to break this apathy and in what way?

The new OBOP director, Jacek Szymanderski, met recently with journalists. He believes that sooner or later the OBOP organization, as part of the complicated structure of the Television and Radio Committee, maintained by public funds, will cease to exist. Thus, the organization must find its place in a market economy, and in a market one has to pay for everything.

Information from OBOP will soon have to be paid for. Until the end of April 1991, the editorial staffs of various papers and the press agencies will not have to pay for copies of OBOP findings and the postage. From May 1991, however, the fee will be 100,000 zlotys (it was said this is according to present day prices) for the monthly subscription to OBOP communiques.

Szymanderski expressed the hope that even if OBOP does go private, most of the shares in the company will be retained by Polish Television because OBOP is a center that specializes in this type of opinion poll.

FSN Government Said To Be 'In Crisis'

LD1803232791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Excerpts] According to certain analysts in Romania, the National Salvation Front [FSN] is in crisis. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] All this would not pass as a sensation in itself; however, the justification for the resignations [of nine senators] is all the more remarkable. For the deputies say that their own party, the FSN, has become over-manipulated and leader-centered—in other words, an antidemocratic organization. In their view, last week's national convention of the party was characterized by empty rhetoric and speeches full of false pathos; furthermore, they believe that the preparation and conduct of the conference was the privilege of a narrow group, the leading elite. Finally, they warned that Romania is threatened by the danger of another personality cult.

From the point of view of sensation, the session of the Senate was also remarkable. The majority of the Senate, contrary to the house of Parliament, supported the government's draft bill, which would guarantee very significant advantages for foreign investors; however, the coordinating committee of the two houses has yet to examine the bill. This is where it will be decided whether foreign capital will be allowed into Romania almost without conditions, which would mean new jobs and better services, or else strict investment conditions and high taxes are here to stay and thus, the so-called danger of selling off the country will not threaten. [passage omitted]

Nine Parliamentary Deputies Withdraw

AU1803213391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1912 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/3/1991—Before the end of the Monday's [18 March] sitting of the Assembly of Deputies, National Salvation Front [FSN] Deputy Vasile Radulescu read a declaration on behalf of nine deputies representing the Front, announcing their withdrawal from the FSN Parliamentary Group. The leader of this group, Alexandru Albu expressed regret for their action in terms of reproach and asked them to define their group's attitude and name, for any confusions as to their political leaning to be avoided.

Deputy V. Radulescu motivated their withdrawal from the FSN by the manner in which the recent FSN National Convention proceeded, it leading bodies elected and political programme adopted, specifying that the nine of them would be forming "a different parliamentary group determined to strictly observe, among themselves, the rules deriving from the principles of the Front's Council proclamation of December, 1989 and the then platform", which "led the Front to victory in elections".

FSN's Radina on Party's Structure, Factions

AU1903102891 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 12 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

["Part One" of interview with Velicu Radina, propaganda and press secretary of the National Salvation Front, by Mircea Florin Sandru; place and date not given: "At This Point the Leadership Structure of the Front Has Actually Been Replaced by a Few Ministers and a Few Presidential Counselors"]

[Text] [Sandru] Mr. Radina, there is more and more talk lately about the existence of certain factions within the National Salvation Front [FSN] and of tension generated by the different viewpoints on certain ideological or organizational issues. What can you tell us in this respect?

[Radina] I believe that the FSN actually appears to have quite a strange structure at this point. First, one can talk about a "government faction," although from this point of view one can note that there are just a few "frontists" within the government. Another is the "parliamentary faction," which is numerous and has a great number of valuable elements that asserted themselves within this severe but very necessary school for our democracy—the Parliament. Frankly speaking, we have to note that the FSN's parliamentary group also has a "vague" and mediocre section, because of the haste in which the lists of candidates were set up to achieve a legitimate Parliament as quickly as possible. Finally, there is another faction, that of the FSN proper, consisting—as was pointed out at the Ploiesti regional convention—of the "plebeians"—namely, those people who, day in day out, ensure the operation of the structures of our party. The latter group should be representative, but it is not. This is not an aim, although these are people who have worked and continue to work for the FSN every single day, not to mention the fact that they were not even paid for their "voluntary work."

[Sandru] Yet, the activity of these "plebeians" is important.

[Radina] Certainly. Without the help of these people we would not have been able to achieve even the minimum structuring for our group in the various regions, in cities, and communes. You see this activity became relaxed after 20 May. We mobilized prior to the elections, many things were solved on the fly, and various stages were simply put away. Afterward, taking things more easily, we realized that we do not have an effective party structure. There were people who thought that we do not even need such a thing, that it would be better to be a party with a few thousand members, with a few noteworthy leaders, and charismatic figures with a small party in "tow." This triggered the discussions.

[Sandru] Can one speak of certain malfunctions in the FSN's activity?

[Radina] There is a tendency by certain groups toward replacing the FSN. On the one hand there is the "government faction" that has taken serious steps in this direction in an attempt to take complete control of the FSN's central leadership, and—to a certain extent—it has succeeded in doing so. A number of decisions are in effect no longer made by the FSN's center but in Victory Square, at the government headquarters. Moreover, the elected bodies of the FSN have not been consulted for a long time. Those who read this may say "never mind, the government is the FSN's government!" Surely, in one way or another it is and should be the FSN's government, because our parliamentary majority has endorsed it. Without this endorsement it would not have existed as a government. In any case, the FSN's superior leadership, to which I belonged at that time and to which I still belong, was not even consulted in connection with the setting up of the government. Many of those belonging to the FSN's leadership learned from radio or television broadcasts about the composition of the government team. I had never heard of numerous people who were given certain portfolios, not to mention the fact that these gentlemen did not even know where the FSN's headquarters were and had not had any contact with the FSN before that.

[Sandru] What you want to say is that, in the final analysis, the government's policy does not always emanate from the program-platform of the FSN and that you, the people from the FSN, most often are presented with accomplished facts?

[Radina] Yes, this is an idea that I have stressed on other occasions. Certainly, the government—which has and continues to achieve many good things—is and must be the "locomotive" of reform. At this point, however, I think it is a "locomotive" that does not see the forest for the trees. It has begun to view this reform as an aim in itself. In my opinion—if we consider the experience of countries around us—the reform should not be an aim in itself; however, a number of other problems begin at this point even within the FSN.

The moment one has a critical opinion—not on the necessity of the reform, but on how to implement it and at what rate—people look askance at you. As a matter of fact, there are no such discussions within our party, because at this point the FSN's leadership structure has been replaced by a few ministers and a few presidential counselors wishing to enter the structures of the FSN and to impose their viewpoints even if they are not in keeping with the information passed on to us from the bottom to the top. Speaking of the "bottom" and "top," I must tell you that numerous people approach the FSN. They did not vote for a government, irrespective of who is leading it, they voted for the FSN. They still have their former mentality—namely, that things are being solved by the party. This mentality will persist for some time to come and any ruling party will be confronted with it.

[Sandru] What kind of relations do you—who ensure the daily functioning of the FSN—maintain with the parliamentary group of the FSN?

[Radina] Somewhat better ones. We have also tried to set up working commissions within the FSN made up of parliamentarians. Unfortunately, they did not work as well. The fact that during every weekend our deputies and senators were "in the field" and thus able to provide us with very useful information about the activity of our organizations proved more effective. Some of them were elected to the FSN leadership structures at the local level; however, I think that even in this case another extreme situation has emerged. The fact that 75 percent of the county presidents are parliamentarians is not the happiest of solutions. Most of the time these people are not present in the various regions, but one or two of days per week at most. One cannot lead a county party organization by telephone. As you see, we are facing a lot of difficulties. In my view, it is not very effective to have a minister—as in the case of Mr. Dijmarescu in Bucharest—at the helm of a big FSN organization. I have nothing against him, he is a valuable man, but he will not be able to cope with everyday chores.

'Part Two' of Interview

AU1903134991 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 13 Mar 91 p 2

["Part Two" of interview with Velicu Radina, propaganda and press secretary of the National Salvation Front (FSN), by Mircea Florin Sandru; place and date not given: "At This Point the Leadership Structure of the Front Has Actually Been Replaced by a Few Ministers and a Few Presidential Counselors"]

[Text] [Sandru] In the first part of our dialogue you said that the majority of the FSN's county organizations have deputies and senators at their helm, with the consequence that these local organizations are led "via the telephone." How effective is the activity of those regional leadership structures under such circumstances?

[Radina] These leaders, who are in Bucharest most of the time as members of the two Parliament chambers, can have counterparts with a flair for organization. Those who bear the burden within county organizations are the vice presidents and secretaries, and the secretariat at the central level. It goes without saying that the weakest link in our party is the local structures, because our teams—irrespective of goodwill—have no power to make decisions "on the spot" and very often have to resort to the telephone or wait for the weekend for the leader to come from Bucharest.

Things became somewhat more stable at the central level when a rather numerous secretariat was established incorporating people who are not Parliament members and who were thus able to deal with party activity every single day. Unfortunately, this situation lasted for a very short time. A new concept emerged in connection with the legitimacy of other cadres in the FSN, in the sense that if they were

included in the lists, they enjoyed popular legitimacy and thus were entitled to be part of the FSN's leadership structures.... Maybe there was also a financial consideration at stake, their being paid by the Parliament; however, this is not the only reason. Parliamentarians and, more recently—that is, in the past few months—governmental dignitaries infiltrated the FSN's leadership, thereby actually replacing the FSN's leadership. Unfortunately, they do not participate in the daily activity of our party, and this is felt because there are things that have to be solved on the spur of the moment. Come to think of it, I realize that it is not these people's fault; ministers, for instance, have completely different and very difficult things to deal with. In this case, however, their high position in the FSN is a honorary one.

[Sandru] How are the preparations for the FSN National Convention progressing?

[Radina] As you know, there have been several regional conventions, as well as that of the Bucharest Municipality. I personally participated in the one in Ploiesti that rallied delegations of the Prahova, Dimbovita, Arges, Teleorman, and Buzau Counties. Issues seriously concerning the party members—and not only them—were discussed, as were questions of the identity, title, and social-democratic leaning of our party. Second, the experience gained in relations between our organizations and the administration, the trade unions, and various social categories was discussed. Finally, a draft statute was discussed, which was forwarded to our regional organizations.

[Sandru] It would be normal for these preparatory conventions to clarify certain aspects of ideology and the future leadership structures of the party. Was this the case?

[Radina] Very interesting and daring viewpoints were revealed on this occasion. Moreover, some of the ideas promoted by the "center" were declared unfounded. These are the aspects that refer to the statute and the way in which our party has to prove its center-leftist leaning of social-democratic origin. Certainly, there were very heated discussions about the pressing issues of the reform and, in this context, about the role and position of the FSN—as a ruling party—in accelerating the reform.

[Sandru] What is the situation of the actual preparations for the FSN National Convention?

[Radina] In connection with the distortions and difficulties I spoke about in this interview, the county and regional conventions, and the one in the Bucharest Municipality did not bring the expected clarification. As far as the preparation of the National Convention is concerned, two commissions were established in September: A preparatory one—in charge of organizing the forum—and another one for drafting the necessary documents. They did not work properly; proof of this is the fact that this convention was postponed time and again, although there were no objective difficulties. When these commissions were established, there were—in my view—a few non-statutory initiatives. The appointment of Messrs. Claudiu Iordache as first vice president and Gheorghe Scortan as vice president was a completely non-statutory measure taken upon the suggestion of the FSN's leader. Very soon it proved ineffective. The FSN lost a great deal from then on and a whole number of regional malfunctions emerged, but also a lot of discussions. Several people did not understand this measure or did not agree with it. We, the others in the FSN, believed—maybe out of a wrongly understood respect for party discipline—that it was an error that would be corrected eventually; however, we continue to proceed in the same direction.

Certainly, important answers are expected from the National Convention and these will turn the FSN from a partially structured movement into a modern party with a well-defined political position based on Romania's political arena.

Civic Alliance Calls For National Reconciliation

AU1903105391 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Mar 91 p 1

[Declaration by the Civic Alliance; place and date not given]

[Text] Among the serious and multiple harmful effects caused by 40 years of communism to Romanian society, moral degradation is an aspect that is being reflected in all areas of social life through its implications and consequences.

This degradation appears under various forms, starting from passivity, approach to work, weak civic awareness, and the most acute and noteworthy is the problem of an intense breach that starts among social groups and sometimes ends up in the very intimate familial nucleus;

The CIVIC ALLIANCE, proceeding from its essential goal of building the civil society in Romania, considers that, under the current circumstances, coordinating all of the country's active forces in the effort to achieve national reconciliation is a cardinal need. This reconciliation is required primarily by those who suffered directly from the communist injustice, but not less by those who feel burdened by a confused culpability caused by the twisted rules of an entire society, within which they functioned and to whose operation they contributed through their submissiveness. This is why we believe that a much clearer delimitation of responsibilities is required.

Indeed, the case of moral responsibility is completely different if the problem is clarified from a legal point of view, meaning that no one can be called to account for the position he held, only for his actual deeds—if the nature of those deeds belong to the legal area. Given the fact that to be a member of the former Communist Party [PCR] ceased to be a political option a long time ago and

was simply a condition for minimum professional achievement or maybe for survival, to blame the whole mass of party members would not only be a mistake but also an injustice. One feels the need for a clear delimitation between the almost 4 million former PCR members and all those who were at the pinnacle of the party or state pyramid and made a direct contribution to the national disaster. The latter should not have access to political competition, to leading positions, and decisionmaking in the country for quite a while; in this way we should not only condition the moral behavior of the future political class but also stop old ways of thinking from passing from one system to another.

Taking into consideration the particular importance of the sociopolitical climate in our country, the CIVIC ALLIANCE calls on all political formations represented in Romania's Parliament as well as on all nonparliamentary political organizations to endorse the following principles:

1.—Any public stand in connection with a person should take into consideration exclusively his deeds and concrete activity. Blaming a person on the basis of certain generalizing incriminations, such as his having formerly been a PCR member, having belonged to its lower organizational structures, or having had a state function, is considered unethical.

2.—No state leadership or decisionmaking positions can be held until 1 January 2000 by the following persons:

a. former members of the PCR Central Committee;

b. former Securitate employees;

c. former activists who—having given up their own profession—were on the PCR payroll for political and ideological activity that they carried out within the party apparatus.

In this way, through joint efforts, we will succeed—as much as humanly possible—in clearing the atmosphere of moral confusion now during the end of social system and the end of the century, by stopping the defects of the old times from penetrating the future and by pleading for a true national reconciliation. Thus, the future generations of Romanian people will be able to learn not only from the sacrifices of those who had courage but also from the sufferings of those who were stopped from developing it.

Foreign Ministry Refutes Hungarian Statements

AU1803200291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1848 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/3/1991—Asked by "ROMPRES" to comment on statements on Romania made by Mr. Tamas Katona, secretary of state in Hungary's Foreign Ministry and run in "NEPSZAVA" of Hungary of March 15, 1991 and "DIE PRESSE" of Austria of March 15, 1991, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, spokesman for the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said:

In my opinion, the statements Mr. Tamas Katona made in the two newspapers may cause confusion and a false, distorted reception of the Romanian foreign policy by the public opinion in Hungary and, respectively, Austria. Consequently, certain clarifications are necessary:

1. Seemingly trying to justify Hungary's systematic shunning of substantial meetings to clarify the issues that generate tension in Romanian-Hungarian relations, Mr. Katona refers in the his interview with "NEPSZAVA" to what he calls the "negative memories" of the Ceausescu-Kadar and the Ceausescu-Grosz meetings, adding that he does not wish to increase the number of such interviews. The Hungarian side pretends they are waiting for the "early signs of a true Romanian willingness", which, however, fail to show, in their opinion.

The fact should be underscored that the Romanian Government has repeatedly informed the Hungarian Government on various levels and by various channels, of its willingness to hold working meetings on any level, on the summit level included, without formalities and conditionings, to examine any issues related to Romanian-Hungarian relations. We were and we are ready for a pragmatic, substantial dialogue to cover all the problems in our bilateral relations. It is in this spirit that recently the foreign minister of the Republic of Hungary, Mr. Geza Jeszenszky, was invited to pay a visit to Romania.

2. In the same interview, Mr. Katona says that when Mr. Nastase invited Mr. Jeszenszky to pay a visit to Bucharest the Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman's decision to put a ban on March 15 celebrations had already been made public. Furthermore, Mr. Katona says, there were worrisome stances, such as that "they want to organize a new guard". We remember one "guard", he said and do not want to see a similar one again. I feel that the two countries' road is paved with many threats.

This is another series of inaccuracies:

First of all, the Romanian Government did not put a ban on the March 15 celebrations in Romania despite the fact that to the Romanian people March 15, 1848 means something negative; our people cannot forget that the answer to the Romanians' legitimate aspirations for national freedom was an item in the proclamation of Budapest of March 15, 1848 on the "union" of Transylvania with Hungary. Furthermore, the fact should be highlighted that prior to that date Transylvania had not been a part of Hungary, as some Hungarian historians uphold today.

What the Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest was informed about on March 6 was that the Romanian Government did not consider the participation of Hungary's representatives in events marking March 15 in the Romanian territory as opportune, considering the need

to avoid the recurrence of sensitive events, such as those of last March. Contrary to what Mr. Katona says, Mr. Nastase invited Mr. Jeszenszky to come to Romania when they met in Madrid on February 21, 1991 something the public statements released by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry confirmed therefore before the Hungarian side was informed of that decision. Moreover, the decision was not made "public"; it was merely conveyed to Hungary's ambassador in Bucharest. As for the "guard", this is something completely meaningless to us. In general, it is quite difficult to understand what purposes the spreading of inaccuracies and false news items in the mass media is supposed to serve.

3. In the interview run by "DIE PRESSE", Mr. Tamas Katona considers that Austria is the sole neighbor of Hungary that is not threatened by dismemberment. Hungary is interested in the survival of the Federal States of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, as they offer stability, and as for Romania negotiations can be held only in "fringe domains".

The statement that Austria alone is not threatened by dismemberment is puzzling because Romania is one of Hungary's neighbors, too, and we do not know of any threat of dismemberment. Are there any counties in this country that wish secession or is there any country wishing to revise Romania's borders ? We certainly hope to get some clarifications on this point.

And one more statement negotiations with Romania can be conducted only in "fringe domains" should be commented upon. If the accord on the opening of houses of culture in Bucharest and Budapest, the accord to institute an "open sky" system between the two countries, the inter-government convention on trade and payments between the two countries starting January 1, 1991 and the understanding to update the whole legal framework of bilateral relations are "fringe domains" than it would be interesting to know which, in Mr. Katona's opinion, the "essential areas" are and why negotiations with Romania cannot be conducted in these latter domains.

Proposed Government Bill Affects Freedom of Press

AU1603191391 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 12 Mar 91 p 2

[Report on "Draft Law on Penalty for Offenses in the Field of Press" in Bucharest on 11 March]

[Text] Last week, before Prime Minister Roman's departure for Latin America, the Romanian Government submitted a bill to the Parliament on penalizing for offenses by the press, namely: slandering and denigrating state institutions, the Army, and the police, offenses for which pecuniary penalty and detention can be applied to those who, according to the government, are guilty of such serious offenses. Those who are found guilty can be fined from 20,000 to 500,000 lei, or sentenced from one to six months in prison, but more severe punishment will be applied to those who are guilty of slandering the presidential institution.

The government initiative caused an uproar among the press trade unions and their leadership met yesterday, 11 March 1991, in a national convention to agree on a protest to the government. As known, the Roman government had previously reached an agreement with the press trade unions that it will not initiate any new regulations in this area until the adoption of the country's constitution.

Dailies and weeklies which are connected with those trade unions starting Tuesday, 12 March 1991, will publish the draft of the incriminatory law as well as protest notes in connection with the government's action limiting the freedom of press.

It is worth mentioning that by promoting this new regulation, the government makes journalists exempt from the rules included in the Penal Code, since they can be punished only for the two offenses included in the new bill.

PSD Considers Bill 'Infringement'

AU1803114591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1035 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/3/1991—The Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSD] protests against the bill on "sanctioning certain deeds infringing upon the freedom of the press," considering that the bill itself represents an infringement on the freedom of the press, a threat to the right of freely expressing opinions and a grave attempt to violate a basic democratic principle, rights that had been gained through the blood of the December 1989 revolution.

Our party declares once more that it is the firm partisan of ethics in the press, but it considers that journalistic ethics cannot be ensured by such legislative stipulations, shows that party's protest signed by its President Sergiu Cunescu.

Cornea Criticizes Current Political Situation

AU1503143691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1327 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Paris, (ROMPRES) 15/3/1991—Prominent opposition figure Mrs. [Doina] Cornea was invited to Paris by the French Institute for International Relations-IFRI, the European University and the French "Christian Youth" Organisation. At the conference organized on Thursday, 14 March at the IFRI Headquarters, she spoke about the situation in Romania before and especially after the December '89 revolution. In her contentious expose she severely criticized certain aspects of the political situation in Romania, the stands of the authorities as regards the citizens' rights, the freedom of the press and the opposition parties. Doina Cornea was of the opinion that Romania was crossing a moral crisis, a

crisis of confidence, which she thinks is rooted in the fact that the power took no steps to institute real democracy. She also criticized misleading information of the public by the Romanian television and the official mass media, the actions for intimidating political opponents, especially men of culture and journalists, the concealing of the truth concerning the events on December 1989, the political parties being infiltrated by Securitate people, the lack of a true separation of powers in the state, the anti-democratic character of a number of legislative acts and measures, such as those for eliminating or reducing the TV programs of opposition parties and national minorities.

Doina Cornea was critical as far as President Iliescu and the action of the government are concerned, but she acknowledged some of the members of the government were good specialists.

Anti-Minority Campaign Blamed on UVR, TV

AU1603210591 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Mar 91 p 5

[Christa Richter article: "Who Is Afraid of 'UVR' (Vatra Romaneasca)?—Romanian Television Against the Romanian Civilization"]

[Text] I do not like indirect attacks against people; therefore I approached Mr. Razvan Theodorescu directly whenever I had to tell him something. I approached him for the first time last year, a few months after he had taken his position at the Romanian television station. I wrote him a letter in connection with a statement he made on television—namely, that his friends had advised him not to accept that position, which was not suitable for him. I let him know that, unfortunately, his friends were right. This man of culture, whom I had respected until then, seems to me ridiculous in that new position. (I will refrain from examples)

The second time I approached him, it was in connection with the cut in the television programs in the German and Hungarian languages; more specifically, I asked him how he would react if he had been given an apartment where the bathroom and kitchen were on the first floor, while the dining room and bedrooms were on the second. Where were the economic reasons about which there was so much fuss?

The answer came directly through the television when Mr. Razvan Theodorescu appeared before the Romanian Parliament on 22 February. This time it did not seem embarrassing to me, but rather perfidious—and not only because he made use of notions taken over from postwar German philosophy, such as the idea of culpability. Let us be serious, Mr. Theodorescu: How can you compare the interethnic conflict in Romania with Hitler's terrible holocaust? The idea in itself is a gross exaggeration that may stir people's minds (like some parliamentarians such as Romulus Vulpescu and company do from time to time). What surprised me also was the fact that you were speaking on behalf of an "independent" institution. Have you really forgotten your interview for a group of French reporters when you said—forced by no one—that you are constantly in direct contact with the government? I am sure you do not exchange opinions about the weather forecast.... As a matter of fact, I do not know whether this anti-minority campaign is exclusively your doing. Did a "true patriot of the Vatra Romaneasca" [UVR] rise in Parliament to emphasize the uselessness of broadcasts in the Hungarian language and so forth? Are you afraid of UVR or are you on their side, Mr. Theodorescu?

I heard about "Vatra Romaneasca" for the first time when I went abroad for the first time, in May 1990 in Munich. The question raised was the FUEV [Federal Union of European Nationalities] congress, an organization dealing with the claims of German minorities in the world. Among the documentation there was also some material translated from the Romanian presenting a program of action of the "UVR." I remember that when I read it my hair stood on end. This is not possible, I said to myself; my Romanians cannot have such twisted minds; this must be staged. That was not the case, however. The last page was an original copy and had the stamp and signature of this—in my view—gloomy organization.

I did not take the floor during the congress' discussions, although I could have said a great deal in connection with the massive emigration of Germans from Romania. If anyone had asked me about this "Vatra" I would have been of the opinion that one has to wash one's dirty linen at home. Actually, I am one of those who has never lost his confidence in the Romanian people; I have always harbored the hope that one day the time will come for them to have their say in history. I was convinced that I would be able to survive within this gentle nation without losing my Saxon identity, and up to now I succeeded, despite all vicissitudes. That is why it was such a terrible shock when I came directly in touch with the "UVR" program. For years and years I had been suffering and even developed a complex because I came from the people who produced a man like Hitler. I had an inferiority complex toward my Jewish chiefs (when I was working for the National Tourist Office), who behaved impeccably toward me. As for the Romanians, I never thought they could kill a fly. All of a sudden a nationalist group with clear Nazi features emerges from this nation, which wants to struggle; for what?! For the rights of Romanians in Romania? But the Romanians enjoy all their rights, they are the majority. To struggle against brethren? How naive I could have been! How could I forget about the Hungarian problem?

There were hardly any Hungarians in the Transylvanian village in which I grew up and the few who were there were speaking both Romanian, Saxon, and German; they were attending German schools. I do not recall that we ever fought over this. We were the postwar generation; we had not consciously experienced the horrors of the

war and what followed in the aftermath; the generation of sacrifice was our parents.

We did not intend to burden ourselves with all their suffering and worries. Furthermore, who would have recalled with pleasure the years of deportation to Russia (which one actually was not supposed to even mention because the lists were secret) and the Romanians' repression against Saxons immediately after the war? Whenever that period was mentioned there were sad stories, but by no means any hatred. I have to express thanks to my Saxons because they do not know what hatred means!

In Bucharest I faced a completely different situation. I was surprised to note that the Romanians here are completely different from the Romanians on the other side of the Carpathian range, and that the majority has no idea what is going on over there. They used to ask me what I was doing in this country, why was I not urgently and quickly emigrating to the FRG where there was a much better life; as if this country was not my place of birth as well, my true homeland, but how could these poor people have known that? We were not mentioned in any history book and the ancient Saxon fortresses were ascribed to the Dacians and so forth.

The situation of the Hungarians was different. In the case of neighboring Hungary, the wound of 1918 had not yet healed. A strong Hungarian community in the United States used to scratch this bloody wound from time to time, while in Bucharest a crazy regime also reacted crazily. This is how the slandering of the Hungarians intensified. I know Romanians who have never met a Hungarian in their whole life, but they able to swear at them for hours and hours because of what they did to the Romanians during the war and so forth. These are the facts, but have there also been opposite reactions that are being overlooked? For how long are they to continue to be at loggerheads for this reason?

You will ask me why do I get involved in this conflict. The answer is: Because the same method is used as a few years ago when revenge against Hungarians also hit the Germans. I heard with my own ears—being the translator of a Swiss paper—the answer to the question why the Germans no longer are allowed to use German names for places they themselves had built. In fact, it was meant to deal a blow to the Hungarians but to conceal it ... and thus history is repeated literally. The representative of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania correctly stated in Parliament: Political and not economic reasons were behind this decision of cutting the programs of minorities. Those whose minds are not blinded by "nationalism" and who follow the political events in our country, as well as those beyond our borders, can easily realize from where this ominous wind is blowing.

Another philosophic dictum, Mr. Theodorescu, says that the civilization of a nation is measured also by the way in which that nation behaves toward its ethnic minorities. From this point of view, we are very far from civilization and as things stand we will not reach that point very soon. In this respect, a major part of the blame has to be put on Romanian television.

'Social Democrat National Salvation Front' Formed

AU1803114391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/3/1991—Before advancing the proposals for the new National Salvation Front bodies, Mr. Velicu Radina, former propaganda and press secretary of the Steering Committee, announced the withdrawal from the National Salvation Front of a left-centre grouping with the intention to found another political formation called "Social Democrat National Salvation Front." Next days, the newly founded formation is to apply for registration at the Bucharest Municipality Tribunal, according to the legal provisions.

Former Securitate Generals, Colonels Sentenced

AU1803210991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1908 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 18/3/1991—The Military Section of the Supreme Court of Justice passed Monday, 18 March, the sentence in the trial of former Securitate Generals Iulian Vlad, Aristotel Stamatoiu, Aurelian Mortoiu and Colonels Emil Radulescu, and Gheorghe Manea, charged with illegal deprivation of liberty, punished by Article 189, Paragraph 2 of the Penal Code. The evidence proved that the defendants abusively ordered and respectively performed, on 21 December, 1989, the taking into custody of Dumitru Mazilu and his family from their residence, depriving them of their freedom until 22 December, 1989.

The panel sentenced the Defendants Iulian Vlad, Aristotel Stamatoiu and Aurelian Mortoiu to three and a half years' imprisonment each. Defendants Emil Radulescu and Gheorghe Manea were sentenced to two and a half years each. The latter's sentences were pardoned in compliance with the decree issued on 4 January, 1990.

The sentenced may appeal within 10 days from pronouncement.

Soviet General Leaves After Pact Dismantlement

AU1503143391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1323 GMT 15 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/3/1991—"Fate would have it that we should finish our mission," said Soviet General Alfred Gaponenko, last representative to Bucharest of commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries, in an fare-well interview for the daily "ADEVARUL" upon termination of his mission subsequent to disbandment of the

above mentioned institution. "The political situation," he added," has changed, therefore military blocs are no longer justified."

Speaking of his feelings on leaving Romania, the general said: "I leave with a good impression of the Romanian people, a kind, hospitable people, that loves freedom, has a strong sense of national dignity and respect for other peoples." "I feel no bitterness and no nostalgia for the past. I consider that the developments in Eastern Europe are no loss to the USSR," replied General Gaponenko in reply to a question mentioning the dissatisfaction of some top-rank militaries in Moscow at having lost Eastern Europe.

As for the Romanian-Soviet relations, the general opined that the "termination of the Warsaw Pact did not necessarily mean the end of bilateral military cooperation, which can continue, in terms of equality, mutual respect, in the interest of both armies, peoples and countries."

PSD Expresses Solidarity With Moldovans

AU1803114791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1041 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/3/1991—The Romanian social democrats expressed in a message their solidarity and that of the whole Romanian nation with the stand of the Moldovan Social Democratic Party concerning the March 17 referendum. "We too, just like you, are convinced that free people can only exist in a free country. Rest assured that we are all with you, arm in arm and soul to soul, in your heroic struggle"—reads the message signed by the president of the Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSD], Sergiu Cunescu.

Hungarian Ambassador on 1848 Commemorations

AU1603161791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0114 GMT 16 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/3/1991—Mr. Erno Rudas, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Hungary to Bucharest, who is in Miercurea Ciuc (a town in central Romania) to participate in the commemorations of the 1848 revolution, told ROMPRES the following:

"I think Romania's leadership was very wise to allow representatives of Hungary to these commemorations. In this attitude I see a constructive revaluation of our common problems, of which these commemorations are part. I am convinced we can find common points, as heretofore, even concerning events which are appreciated differently by the sides." [passage omitted]

Jovic Views Discussions of Armed Forces Order

LD1703221291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2052 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Statement by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic in Belgrade on 17 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Mar (TANJUG)— "Regarding the falsehoods that have been given to TANJUG this evening and that are being systematically spread in public by certain members of the SFRY Presidency, on the matter that was discussed by the Supreme Command of the SFRY Armed Forces on 12, 14, and 15 March, I wish to inform the public that the first point of the proposed decision called for a heightened preparedness of the Armed Forces, while the second and final point of the decision said: "To take urgent and resolute measures to return the defense system of the country back to the framework established by the Constitution. To consistently implement the SFRY Presidency order of 9 January on the disarming and disbanding of illegal armed forces, and the stances and decisions of the Presidency on the command of territorial defense and execution of military service affairs."

The majority of the Presidency members voted against this, which also means they voted against their own orders and decisions that the Presidency adopted earlier but prevented from being implemented in practice. To remove any doubt about the possible hidden intentions of the proposed measures concerning the preparedness of the Armed Forces, I proposed that we should defer the adoption of these measures. I also suggested that we present an ultimatum to the Republic of Croatia to disarm the paramilitary organizations itself within two days and return illegally imported weapons, and to the Republic of Slovenia to accept the territorial defense commander designated by the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces by the same deadline, and abolish the law that terminates the obligation of recruits to serve in the Yugoslav People's Army.

The majority of the members of the Presidency did not want to accept this either, which means that they objectively approve the current unconstitutional situation in the Armed Forces. What was really discussed and decided and what the orientation of the majority of the Presidency members was is now surely clearer. I believe that after this it will no longer be possible to deceive the public. I believe the time will also come when citizens will be able to learn directly who represented them and in what way in the top state service of the country", Jovic concludes.

Armed Forces View Defense Issue

AU1903114691 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 19 Mar 91

[Statement by the Armed Forces Supreme Command Headquarters issued on 19 March; place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] At its sessions held on 12, 14, and 15 March, the SFRY Presidency, acting as the Supreme Commander of Yugoslavia, did not accept the proposal of the Supreme Command Headquarters. The proposal sought appropriate measures to guarantee the prevention of interethnic armed clashes and a civil war and to ensure a peaceful and democratic denouement of the Yugoslav crisis based on laws and the Constitution.

Proceeding from the constitutionally determined responsibilities of the Armed Forces in guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the constitutionally determined social system of Yugoslavia, the Supreme Command Headquarters, as the ranking expert and professional entity in the sphere of leading and commanding the Armed Forces, has carried out a comprehensive evaluation of the new situation and possible consequences and announces the following:

1. The Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] will reliably protect the borders of the SFRY from all forms of threat and will not allow them to change until a possible agreement on this is reached and implemented in accordance with the SFRY Constitution.

2. The JNA will under no circumstances allow interethnic armed clashes and a civil war in Yugoslavia.

3. In solving interethnic, inter-republican, and interparty disputes, no side will be allowed to use violence.

4. Normal conditions must be provided for the life and work of the Armed Forces. This primarily means complying with recruiting and other forms of military obligation in accordance with the SFRY Constitution and federal regulations; the return of the territorial defense to the system of leadership and command as determined by the SFRY Constitution and the SFRY Presidency's acts; proper financing of the JNA in accordance with the already assumed social obligations.

5. Because the SFRY Presidency did not accept the proposed necessary measures for fully carrying out its own order of 9 March, the JNA cannot take responsibility for the further possible illegal arms acquisition by citizens and their military organization on any part of Yugoslav territory.

As has been the case so far, the JNA will not interfere in political talks on the country's future.

The Supreme Command Headquarters believes that the aforementioned conditions and measures are essential prerequisites for the peaceful and democratic solution of the Yugoslav crisis and for reaching an agreement on the future organization of Yugoslavia.

The Supreme Command Headquarters will do its utmost to ensure that they are secured and implemented.

Draskovic Calls For Serbia's 'Liberation'

AU1703145591 Vienna KURIER in German 17 Mar 91 p 4

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Serbian opposition leader Vuk Draskovic by Conny Bischofberger in Belgrade on 15 February: "I Am Only a Temporary Hero"—all quotation marks as published]

[Text] A brick-red apartment house in the suburbs of Belgrade: Colorful graffiti on the walls of the house show the way to the door of the Serbian opposition leader. "Vuk, we love you!" "All the best, Vuk!" On the door: red lips blowing a kiss.

Three days ago Vuk Draskovic (44) was still in prison—arrested after the bloody street clashes in the Yugoslav capital last weekend [9-10 March].

"I am terribly tired," he says apologetically, but still glances with one eye at the television set, where [SFRY Presidency] President Jovic is speaking. "During the past nights I hardly slept. I had conferences all day." Luckily, Danica [Draskovic's wife] brings Turkish coffee and whisky.

There he is, the Serbian popular hero, sitting under pictures of Christ, in flannel slippers and a sheep's wool pullover—yawning. Thousands of demonstrators cheered him after his release on Tuesday [12 March].

The bearded writer has become the leader of the anti-communist movement in Serbia, which has forced the government to its knees with its continuous demonstrations and has brought a new dimension to Yugoslav politics.

But how are things to continue, Vuk Draskovic?

"What the students achieved in Belgrade can only be the beginning. The goal is the liberation of Yugoslavia, with a democratic Serbia."

Thus, an end to the multination state and perhaps also to the civil war? [sentence as published]

"No," Vuk, the Serb says, pointing to the kangaroo skin (which he brought back from his vacation in Australia) on the floor: *"Do you see this? Now imagine a leopard skin here. It has black and white and brown spots; some are bigger, some are smaller. But it is cohesive.... I think the state of Yugoslavia will survive, but only with largely independent republics. I am thinking of a confederation—like the one in Switzerland or in the United States."*

Apart from the fact that these republics would not be viable, your people in particular have great problems with democracy. In Kosovo the Serbs refuse the Albanians what the Serbs always like to demand for themselves: power and participation in decisionmaking. Instead, there are oppression and violations of human rights.

"If our movement is successful, I can guarantee Albanians all the rights that minorities have in most democratic countries."

He says "minorities," even though in Kosovo 80 percent of the population are Albanians.

"The Serbian people are willing to make concessions to the Albanians. One thing must never be doubted: Kosovo has always belonged to the Serbs and will always belong to the Serbs. I admit to being a nationalist, a Serbian nationalist, but I am not undemocratic."

A glance at the television set makes him angry. *"Now Jovic has been speaking for 15 minutes, and he still has not said anything!"* But Danica turns the volume up.

A cheer then erupts in the Draskovics' living room. The state president has resigned.

You are smiling so proudly, Mr. Draskovic....

He shakes his head. *"There is no reason for pride. Before this became possible, two people had to die. Hundreds were injured. In addition, Jovic is only engaging in tactics; he wants to put pressure on the state Presidency. He wants the state of emergency, he is practically provoking a crisis! The Yugoslav people will not tolerate his tanks."*

"What is the function of the Army in your eyes?"

"Nothing! It has become useless and exorbitantly expensive. The old Tito generals want to maintain the central rule of the Communist Party. This Army is coresponsible for our economic crisis."

Vuk does not say anything about his own weakness for generals. Several of his works deal with Serbian generals in World War II. His next book will even be called "General".... And during the civil war in Angola, Draskovic was a reporter for TANJUG.

"Is this now your true mission: being a rebel?"

He smiles into his beard and does not say anything for along time. *"I am a writer,"* he says then, *"this I was at the beginning and this I will also be at the end. I am only a temporary hero. My longing is: writing books in a peaceful, new, liberated Yugoslavia."*

The path toward this will be a long one, do you not think so?

"It must not be a long one, because the people are already so nervous and impatient. There must be new elections all over the country by the end of this year. In my view, there should be a referendum on the question of 'epublic or monarchy.'"

And you, Vuk, then want to be the king of the Serbs?

"No!" he cries out loudly. *"We have a king, Alexander II, who lives in London. I visited him last year. He would return to his homeland immediately."*

Intellectuals Demand Milosevic's Resignation

LD1803172391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—"Slobodan Milosevic, who was elected Serbian president only three months ago, has recently lost the confidence of his people," stresses an appeal from Serbian intellectuals that has already been signed by scores of prominent Serbian public figures.

"The whole world, all Yugoslav republics and nations, and finally Serbia itself and its youth have voiced their views against Milosevic's Serbia," the appeal says, and adds that "Milosevic's ability to make enemies has brought Serbia to the very brink of civil war."

"The crude and forceful manipulation of the Serbian public could not conceal these facts for long. Arrogance and disdain toward everybody, including his own people, reached their climax on 9 March when Milosevic ordered Serbian people beaten up, when casualties were caused, and when the police tortured Serbian youth in prisons.

"Since his attempt to induce the Army to introduce a state of emergency in Yugoslavia failed, which was solely aimed at saving his own regime, Milosevic decided to abolish the SFRY Presidency and thus end the last chance for a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

"The Serbian president opted for the policy of war. Bringing tanks onto the streets and undermining an agreement on the future of Yugoslavia both bear witness to the adventurism of selfish craving for power, which the Serbian people can no longer endure.

"Milosevic can no longer foist on the Serbian people the enemies that he has been creating with this despotism. The Serbian people can no longer tolerate being held in isolation by Milosevic, who keeps stuffing them with lies, beating them up, and creating a historical burden for them.

"In the interest of the citizens of Serbia we call on Slobodan Milosevic to withdraw from his position immediately," the appeal says. It is signed by Nebojsa Popov, Ljubomir Madzar, Srdja Popovic, Mirko Kovac, Vidosav Stevanovic, Branislav Milosevic, Mirko Klarin, Filip David, Ivan Djuric, Vojin Dimitrijevic, Vesna Pesic, Lazar Stojanovic, Vida Ognjenovic, Zivojin Pavlovic etc.

Signing of the appeal is under way.

Democratic Party on Jovic's 'Flawed' Resignation

LD1803170191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 18 (TANJUG)—The Democratic Party of the Republic of Serbia has set out that "representatives of Serbia must be present where the most important state decisions are taken."

In a statement delivered to TANJUG today, the Democratic Party said that "the resignation of Yugoslav State Presidency President Borisav Jovic, without any additional explanation of the way in which the interests of the Republic of Serbia and the Serbian people will be represented further on, is flawed and needs additional clarification."

Yugoslav State Presidency President Borisav Jovic, Serbia's representative in the collective state leadership, resigned on Friday. The next day, Saturday, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic informed the public that Serbia would not respect the decisions of the Yugoslav Presidency, whose members Nenad Bucin, representative of the Republic of Montenegro, and Jugoslav Kostic, representative of Serbia's province of Vojvodina, have also resigned in the meantime.

The Serbian Democratic Party said in the statement that Milosevic's support of Jovic's resignation and his statement that Serbia would not recognize the decisions of the federal state presidency created further uncertainties. The Democratic Party explained that it above all creates the impression that the Republic of Serbia, by refusing to recognize federal state bodies, indirectly agreed to the existence of sovereign states on the territory of Yugoslavia. "The Democratic Party does not accept such a consequence," the Democratic Party statement said.

Serbian Socialist Leaders Discuss Issues

LD1803203691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1745 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Report on news conference by Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) executive council members Mihaile Markovic and Vladimir Stambuk in Belgrade on 18 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—Serbia has not definitely closed the door to the SFRY Presidency, it has only withdrawn from it until conditions for its normal functioning are met. Serbia is also not withdrawing from federal bodies. It sees the solution to the current impasse in inter-republican talks about the future of Yugoslavia, in a meeting between delegations of all republican legislatures that would consider ways out of the crisis.

The SPS officials also said that delegations of republican legislatures should meet within the framework of the federal legislature or in a forum specially set up for the occasion. Serbia, according to Markovic and Stambuk, strongly supports the Federal Executive Council appeals for federal laws to be observed throughout the country.

Serbia, they specified, is championing a modern, democratic federation in keeping with modern intergation trends in Europe. Among the authorities of such a federal state would be foreign affairs, defense, human rights, and fiscal policy.

Asked why the SFRY Presidency member from Kosovo was dismissed, they said that this was the wish of the

Serbian Assembly, which explained that Riza Sapundziju did not represent the true interests of Kosovo and Serbia.

The SPS officials warned that the present composition of the SFRY Presidency is not capable of making decisions. Moreover, in the future, when appropriate conditions are met Serbia will be represented by one person in the SFRY Presidency.

Asked about the situation in Kosovo, Mihailo Markovic stressed that it was pure fabrication to claim that Albanians were fighting for human rights in Kosovo. They have all civil and cultural rights, but they cannot be allowed to take away part of Serbian and Yugoslav territory, which the separatist movement in Kosovo is championing.

Asked about the role of the Army in the resolution of the crisis in the country, Stambuk and Markovic explained that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] is a part of the federal institutions and that the federal government should be asked about the JNA's role. Markovic categorically rejected a possibility of a military coup, stressing that the JNA plays a major role in preserving peace in the country and averting interethnic conflicts.

Asked by a NEW YORK TIMES journalist "why Milosevic is rarely seen in public and why he addresses the public only via television," Markovic recalled that U.S. President Roosevelt addressed Americans in a similar manner, via radio.

Milosevic has his own style: modern, hard-working and active in the work of many republican entities, Markovic explained.

Socialist's Support Resignation

LD1703185391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1756 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Statement by Petar Skundric, Serbian Socialist Party secretary general, sent to TANJUG in Belgrade on 17 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—The Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] deems the SFRY Presidency members' resignations to be a democratic warning to the citizens of Yugoslavia and an appeal of its own kind to all progressive forces to oppose with resolve the policy of fait accompli, unconstitutional and separatist disintegration of Yugoslavia, and the provocation of a civil war.

Over the past two days the SPS Executive Committee was addressed by a number of citizens, SPS members, and municipal committees. They all expressed their understanding of the resignation of SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic and supported Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's statement. They also expressed their profound concern over the democratic and peaceful denouement of the Yugoslav crisis. A request was made to do everything possible to resolve the newly created situation in a democratic and peaceful way as soon as possible, Skundric's statement says.

The SPS Executive Committee showed its complete understanding of the resignations of Jovic and two SFRY Presidency members, deeming them to be moral and extremely responsible acts substantiated by convincing arguments and reasons.

In light of the newly created situation, the SPS demands an urgent session of the Serbian Assembly, stressing that it supports an inevitable and intensive dialogue between legitimate representatives of nations and republics with a view of resolving the current situation and seeking the most acceptable solutions for the survival of Yugoslavia.

The SPS appeals to citizens, parties, all political and other subjects in Serbia to contribute in a democratic and peaceful way to overcoming the newly created situation. Regarding the issue of the future of the Serbian people, the SPS is ready for contacts, dialogue, and cooperation with all political parties in the Serbian Assembly, and also with those who are not represented in the Serbian Assembly, Skundric's statement concludes.

Reformist Forces in Serbia Criticize Milosevic

LD1703182391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Statement issued by the Presidium of the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia in Serbia (SRJS) in Belgrade on 17 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—"[Serbian President] Milosevic is trying to represent the agony of his own absolutism—shaken by the stormy events that have caused upheaval in Serbia over the last few days—as the agony of the whole country, its political system, and all its citizens. This is not the agony of Yugoslavia. It is his agony. An attempt is being made once again to blame Yugoslavia for all the failures and mistakes of the policy that is being conducted in Serbia, in a form of the personal authority of Slobodan Milosevic."

"Milosevic's subversion on Saturday," the statement adds, "was aimed above all at canceling out the effects of democratic advances, realized in Serbia with the March demonstrations of citizens and students, at which his policy was spontaneously disputed by the Serbian people."

The presidium of the SRSJ in Serbia assesses that Milosevic's address contains a series of contradictions: verbal advocacy of Yugoslavia while destroying it in factual terms; advocacy of peace while at the same time mobilizing the security forces; claims about "the normal functioning of the system" while in parallel with this introducing a police administration in Serbia; condemnation "of the policy of one-sided acts and fait accomplis" by others while at the same time taking measures in an arbitrary and unconstitutional way for the secession of

Serbia from Yugoslavia; and advocacy of democracy while aggressively refusing to accept the decisions of the majority.

The interests of the citizens of Serbia and Serbian people outside it have been seriously threatened by the arbitrary exclusion of the president of the Republic from decision-making in the SFRY Presidency. With this stance of his, the president of the Republic deprived the citizens of his republic of the possibility of taking part in the adoption of vital decisions relating to the defense of the country, the use of the Armed Forces, and foreign and economic policy, the SRSJ statement concludes.

Serbian National Front To Skip Belgrade Rally

AU1903103491 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar 91 p 8

[Text] The political parties that are part of the Serbian National Front will not take part in the rally scheduled to take place on 20 March on Republic Square. The Serbian National Front emphasized the following points:

1. At a meeting with His Holiness Patriarch Pavle, which was also attended by those who had scheduled the 20 March rally, we reached an agreement on mutual tolerance so we find the Bolshevik approach of both the ruling party and united opposition unacceptable.

2. In our 10 March statement to the public we presented demands in line with the demands of the students and opposition. We also sought a moratorium on all demonstrations and party meetings for the next two weeks.

3. Both the party in power and the parties in the united opposition of Serbia are being led by former Communist ideologists. Both parties' exclusivity is, therefore, not surprising because they have learned in practice to achieve all their political aims through solely undemocratic means and even revolution in the extreme case.

4. We cannot join with the reform forces and the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, just as we cannot accept Leon Koen as a representative of the opposition outside the legislature, because he can only represent the party of which he is president. From the so-called united opposition, we will agree to cooperate only with the Serbian Renaissance Movement and the Democratic Party, which assumes direct cooperation and not cooperation through the media.

5. We most strongly condemn the proclamation by the Socialist Party that calls on the citizens of Serbia to settle accounts with all those who do not think the same on 20 March. It is a tragicomic fact that the meeting at Usce park on 16 March was scheduled by parties and movements that have acted to break up Yugoslavia since 1919.

This statement is signed by the Serbian Saint Sava Party [Srpska Svetosavska Stranka], Serbian National Renewal [Srpska Narodna Obnova], the Old Radical Party [Stara Radikalna Stranka], the Party of Belgrade People [Beogradjanska Stranka], the Democratic Party of Freedom [Demokratska Stranka Slobode], the People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka], the Movement for the Unification of Serbia and Montenegro [Pokret za Ujedinjenje Srbije i Crne Gore], the Davidovic-Grol Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka Davidovic-Grol], and the Republican Party [Republikanska Stranka].

Serbian Economy Doomed by New Tax Regulations

AU1603005291 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 91 p 10

[Rade Grujic article reprinted from DUGA; date of the magazine not given: "A Flight from Ideology"]

[Excerpt] Fact number one: According to the latest information of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia the giro accounts of legal entities in the economy on 31 January contained 25 billion dinars. At the same time all noneconomic entities (i.e. social activities, banks, insurance companies, treasuries of the social political associations, self-managing interest communities, and so forth) had almost twice as much money—about 64 billion dinars—on their bank accounts.

Fact number two: Among many bankruptcy proceedings that have, lately, simply paralyzed the authorized courts, it is almost impossible to spot a bankruptcy process against a noneconomic entity.

These facts, no matter how indicative they might be, are a direct confirmation of the state of affairs that we have been witnessing daily during the last few months—ever more frequent and massive strikes by the dissatisfied workers, and even an announced general strike of all employees in certain branches, even at a republican level. The scenario of these strikes is the same, regardless of the differences among the republics: workers demand that the state (authority) guarantee them "what they had earned" or, at least the guaranteed personal income, which the state has obliged itself to pay out. And usually they get this! At least in Serbia where, after a threat of a general strike in January, an institution of "personal incomes upon demand" or rather upon the registered request with the responsible authority, was quietly introduced.

The absurd was in this way brought to the extreme. The republican leadership somehow scrapes together enough money to calm down the increasingly pronounced social discontent, but while doing this, is on the other hand causing the "line of the submitters of demands" to grow longer. This is so, because for many companies this is a god-given solution to their problems as they can in this way ignore them indefinitely (as long as the state has money to cover it). This is also so because of the new tax regulations with which the money for unsuccessful companies is collected by an inappropriate taxation of others—successful and moderately successful companies—

that are fewer every day. The new tax system that was adopted in "the 11th hour" at the last session of the previous assembly cast, doubled the obligations of the economy toward the state. This was quickly assessed, and not merely by the opposition, as "giving blood to a dying man, so we all die together," or, "a desperate attempt to find enough money to buy social peace by taking from those who have money and who should represent a bright prospect of the Serbian economy and a hope for a better future."

We do not need a detailed economic knowledge to understand to what extent such policies, which are not only a Serbian speciality, are a phantom from the past that is burdening the present, and are doing a disservice to those that receive money, as well as to those that are giving it. Besides, a chance to interpret things in such a way has been narrowed now, so we should not be surprised at all if those unsuccessful companies that were paid in January and February (their November and December salaries) also become the last attempts of the state in line of buying the social peace. Not because the federal and the republican states would not want to do this, but because there will simply be no money left. The alternative is to charge the "winter palace" in Topcider, but we have seen this film before. [passage omitted]

Croatian, Slovenian Leaders Propose Crisis Talks

LD1803223791 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] We have just received an interesting announcement: Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan, today sent separate letters to the presidents of other republics inviting them to a joint meeting on 21 March in Zagreb or elsewhere. The Croatian president's cabinet has also issued the following explanation of why the letters were sent:

In view of the resignation of SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic and the statement by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Croatian President Tudjman and Slovene President Kuucan proposed a meeting of the top representatives of the authorities of the sovereign republics to hold discussions and reach an agreement on a democratic solution to the political and state crisis. This initiative has already been accepted by Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov. An invitation has also been extended by telephone to Serbian President Milosevic.

The meeting is conceived as a replacement for a meeting of the incomplete SFRY Presidency scheduled for the same day. The meeting would provide the representatives of the republics with an opportunity to break the deadlock by proceeding from the sovereignty of the republics. In their future talks the top representatives of the republics should be able to reach agreements on economic, political and, last but not least, defense and foreign affairs relations between the sovereign republics as well as on the minimum functions of the future Yugoslav community.

Croatia's Domljan: Civil War 'Improbable'

LD1803123291 Berlin Deutschlandsender-Kultur Network in German 1100 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Croatian Prime Minister Domljan does not expect a civil war in Yugoslavia. Speaking on Deutschlandfunk Radio this morning, he also said that an intervention by the Army is improbable. He is convinced that reason will prevail. Domljan stressed that his Republic, as well as Slovenia, will speed up the process of independence. The Croatians want to remain part of Yugoslavia, but under different circumstances, and not under a dictatorship.

Knin Seeks 'Lasting Separation' From Croatia

LD1803175791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1650 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Knin, March 18 (TANJUG)—The municipal assembly of Knin, Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, today took a decision on "a definitive and lasting separation of the municipality from the Republic of Croatia."

The other eleven municipalities which are members of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina are expected to adopt similar decisions in the next two to three days, as it was set out at the Knin municipal assembly session today.

The Knin municipality today also decided that a number of smaller local communities, predominantly populated by Serbs, be joined to the Knin municipality on the basis of "their will expressed in the referendum."

The Serbian autonomous region of Krajina was proclaimed last summer by the majority Serbian population of Knin and neighbouring municipalities in protest against the Croatian authorities' insistence that Yugoslavia become a confederation.

The Croatian authorities do not recognize the autonomous region of Krajina.

Explosions Reported in Knin

LD1803165591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1614 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Knin, Yugoslavia, March 18 (TANJUG)—A powerful explosion just before midnight this morning demolished a restaurant in the centre of Knin, a town predominantly inhabited by Serbs in the southern part of the Yugoslav republic of Croatia.

Just 15 minutes later, another explosive device damaged the roof of a nome in a different part of the town.

An investigation judge has visited the scenes of the two blasts, but his findings have not yet been made public.

Milan Martic, secretary of the police department of Krajina, the region which has Knin as its capital, told newsmen today that he had "reliable information and reasonable suspicion that the night-time explosions in Knin are an organized effort."

Martic said an organized group of the Croatian Democratic Union (the ruling party in Croatia) was bombing commercial facilities and homes owned by Croats in an effort to create fear in the Croatian population and the impression that they are facing a threat.

He said he would soon be able to reveal further details about the incidents.

Kucan Views Slovene Independence, Republican Links

AU1503174391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 91 p 1

[Interview with Slovene President Milan Kucan by Radivoj Cveticanin and Stevan Sicarov; place and date not given: "A New Community or None At All"]

[Excerpts] [BORBA] It seems that virtually everything is known about Slovenia's stand concerning the future of the Yugoslav community. From our professional viewpoint, the real news from this interview with you would not be: "Slovenia has seceded from Yugoslavia" but that "Slovenia nevertheless remains in Yugoslavia." Could such hypothetical news be assessed as a sensation, would it be at all possible?

[Kucan] You would be right according to the principle of good news is bad news, that is to say, the news is not that a bridge has been built but that one has been destroyed. [sentence as published] That would be a sensation. Considering your question rationally, I must say: Slovenia is not seceding because we have never said this would be our choice. We are being pushed into this platform. This does not of course mean that a Slovene decision would also be the end of any idea that a new community of independent republics as sovereign states could be created on the territory of present day Yugoslavia. Of course, it is essentially different in quality from the present federation, but such stands are well-known and we have entered into these so-called negotiations and talks with them.

[BORBA] I have just used the term "to secede" although I know that you avoid this term and that you like to use the terms "separation" [razdruzivanje] and "process of becoming independent" [osamostaljivanje] which, I have the impression, are neither sufficiently clear nor precise for many people. What is this all about? Why do you use such recondite conceptual terminology? Are you using this terminology to conceal something from other people or perhaps from yourselves?

[Kucan] First, you know, such serious matters as the dissolution of a state community, even though it may have been organized as a federation, is not a problem for dilettante thinking. It is not a question of avoiding terminology or of using recondite terms. These are terms that are also well known in international practice, these are international legal principles. There is the well-known Vienna Convention on the separation of states, that is to say, secession. These are three documents that Yugoslavia also signed—even ratified one document—and it knows about these terms and specifically those on separation, as we are translating it.

That means that this is the essential difference between secession [otcepljenje] and separation [razdruzivanje]—that states separate [razdruzivati] into two or more independent states that are all equal successors to the present state in the legal-material sense and in every other sense. Of course, they take over their own rights and obligations. Only if there is no agreement do they decide what international arbitration will be used to resolve the unresolved problems. Secession is the recognition that a state remains, that one part secedes, and that the part that remains determines for the other the conditions under which it can secede, the obligations that it must take with it, and, finally, the rights that may possibly be recognized by it. That is to say, this is not the equal status of both parts, nor can this be regulated through an agreement or accord. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] In the ongoing process we have been talking about, who is a greater hindrance to you in achieving your basic plans: the rest of Yugoslavia or the world—that is, the political and legal institutions of the international community?

[Kucan] [passage omitted] If everything that has been said and thought is sincere, there is no reason for us not to be able to agree, even though I know that these talks are not simple because everyone has their own position. The international community would also recognize all our conclusions and agreements on this same condition. Their stand is now clear: It wants Yugoslavia, it wants democratic processes to continue, and it wants Yugoslavia to be one democratic country. The international community takes account of reality. If finally we do not agree to remain a country that is a state and, if I may say so, an international subject, that is to say, if we decide to divide, the international community would accept this in the end, on the condition, of course, that this is the result of a democratic agreement.

As a result, everything is up to us and, in this respect, the outside world and its stands is less important, although that does not mean it is unimportant because it nevertheless has a defined stand on Yugoslavia, above all from the point of view that we do not set their house alight with our inability and ineptitude. Europe is linked together to such an extent that this could have catastrophic consequences. This is the way I interpret their warning, and I understand their insistence on agreement and their insistence, finally, on the stand that these talks should proceed from the situation as it is, that is to say, with recognition of internal borders and their unalterability, or, if the borders are changed, then this can only be done in a peaceful way and through negotiations.

Welcome—If We Change Our Stands

[BORBA] In the view of the Slovene public and even in that of the political establishment, Serbia and Serbs appear as the big reason for Slovene dissatisfaction. I am

speaking precisely, Serbia and Serbs, and not the present Serbian regime. Do you also share such views?

[Kucan] No. Regarding disagreements and disputes, I think that they are solely connected to Serbian politicians and not Serbia and the Serbs.

[BORBA] You have not been able to meet Milosevic at all, and you have even publicly said, if I can remember this rightly, that he rejected the Slovene leadership's offers of talks for a long time.

[Kucan] That is true, and it is well known why we did not have any contact with each other for two years. The immediate reason for this was the well-known meeting in Cankar Hall. It was said afterwards that we were welcome but only if we changed our stands! We actually wanted to discuss disputed issues because we consider that talks are essential and useful when issues are controversial. If we did not have disputed issues then we would have demonstrations. I am not saying these are not useful, but they do not solve anything. When we were in Belgrade recently, we consciously proceeded from this, and we said at the beginning of the talks with the Serbian leaders that our central subject is the future of Yugoslavia and each of our two republics and that we did not want to talk about any other subjects, including Kosovo. We said that we did not want to discuss Kosovo at these talks, which does not mean we have changed our stands. On the contrary, we would now have more reason for the stands as they were before, but, if our discussion partners were willing, we would have left this to be discussed on another occasion. It remained like this, I would say, half-agreed.

[BORBA] When I talked to Mr. Izetbegovic, he stated that he also had the same stand about the problem of Kosovo when he met with Serbia's leaders. At the talks in Belgrade, you came to some joint conclusions that sounded almost sensational. You "recognized" several things among yourselves. How could you do this after a long period of not being able to tolerate each other? Some people understood this as you saying: you recognize our right to self-determination and we will recognize the Serbs' right to live in one state.

[Kucan] This could only sound sensational to those who had not followed this carefully. This is a question of two principled stands. We have, if you have noticed, added to our principled stand on the right of the Serbian people to live in one state the stand on the need to understand this principle in very specific social and historical circumstances. Now, it is something else that such a stand could be manipulated by someone. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] The "Spegelj affair" and everything that accompanies it has in a sense bypassed Slovenia. Why do you think this is? Was this a tactical move or have you simply been cleverer than the Croats?

[Kucan] Unfortunately, it cannot be said that the "Spegelj affair" has bypassed Slovenia because we nevertheless knew that ultimately everything that happens to Croatia could be repeated or have a direct influence on circumstances in Slovenia. The essential difference is that we did not allow anyone to interpret the activities of Slovenia's Territorial Defense as illegal. The second issue is that they disarmed the Territorial Defense of Slovenia, or wanted to disarm it and, we know, they did this for still unexplained reasons. We do not accept the cited reason—that arms need to be looked after in a different way than before—because this is too transparent. We have been safely looking after these arms for years. It is also incorrect that Slovenia's Territorial Defense has left the setup of the Armed Forces. If there were to be a war or the danger of a war, the territorial defense is always part of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia and is under the command of the Supreme Command, even though the question is now being increasingly asked, when it comes to the Supreme Command, of whether it is the commander of all the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia or whether it serves the interests of one set of Yugoslav politicians.

Energetically In Favor of the Army Withdrawing From Political Life

[BORBA] Slovene politicians and you personally very energetically oppose the Army's participation in political affairs. Are you nevertheless thinking about the possibilities of Army action?

[Kucan] The history of relations between Slovene politicians and the Army leadership is very long. It does not begin with this situation or even with the "trial of the four men." The central issue in this long history has always been the position of the Army. Of course, this finally resulted in the heightening of the issue of the politicization or depoliticization of the Army and its withdrawal from political life, above all through scrapping its role as arbitrator in political life and even in relations between the republics. At least as far as I am concerned, this energetic stand is not outside the logic of an Army that has also been created as a political Army and that has been nurtured as a political Army over a very long period, so this cannot be broken up over night. As far as I know, I have the impression that part of the Army leadership is not willing for the Army to withdraw from political life and the proof of this is, of course, the latest document by the Political Department of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, which later tried to minimize it by saying that it was only the document of one department. This is not just a report but a document on the direct tasks of the Army personnel that are political and based on an ideological, political platform for organizing society and organizing the country. As far as I know, such a document has never before been adopted by the Army leadership without coordination. This would be something quite new. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] How do you feel about going to the new session of the SFRY Presidency on Friday?

[Kucan] Well, you know, my optimism is linked to the belief that we will finally nevertheless face the facts because at the moment we are still avoiding them. When facts are avoided this means that the ideological apparatus is being used, but life has unfortunately made this ideological apparatus part of the bric-a-brac of the past.

Advocates Political Dialogue

LD1703191291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1846 GMT 17 Mar 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—A session of the SFRY Presidency has been convened for 21 March in expanded composition, and anyone who does not attend the continuing dialogue on the future of Yugoslavia will have to answer to his own public, the other republics, and the world public. I see no other way to resolve the crisis other than dialogue, Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan told foreign and domestic journalists at a news conference this evening.

The alternative to dialogue can only be war and it is senseless to even consider that, Kucan said.

Slovenia's Peterle Views Independence Preparations

LD1803211791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Mar 18 (TANJUG)—Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle said on Monday that in case of an "unfavourable course of events in Yugoslavia a reserve variant of Slovenia's immediate independence has been prepared." Preparations have been underway to implement the decision on a referendum on an independent Slovenia. This task must be completed by the end of June of this year, Peterle told a news conference in Ljubljana. He voiced the hope that a negotiated settlement of relations in Yugoslavia would, nonetheless, be found.

Slovene Defence Minister Jansa said that, according to some reports, the Yugoslav military leadership is "toying" with the "softer" and the "harder" variants of its participation in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. Jansa noted that the "softer" variant envisages in certain cases, participation of the Army in public life and direct presence of its representatives in political negotiations on the settlement of the crisis in Yugoslavia. While the "harder" variant entailed a classical state coup. Key institutions in the Yugoslav federation—state presidency, the federal legislature and government—would then be dissolved, and the same would be done also in the republics, Jansa explained. "Slovenia accepts neither of the two variants," Jansa stated.

Jansa Reflects on Possible 'Military Coup'

AU1803181891 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Dragoslav Kosaric report on news conference by Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle and Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa with unidentified reporters in Ljubljana on 18 March]

[Text] [Kosaric] Slovene Prime Minister Peterle said that he wanted to reiterate once again his stand that it is unacceptable to misinform international institutions on circumstances in Yugoslavia, as was done, by Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], during his recent visit to the United States.

He resolutely refuted any thinking that Slovenia wants to bring down Ante Markovic's government, [the FEC]. The federal government should work on consolidating [konzistencija] the state and not on patching up the federation, Peterle said. He stated that he will take a stand on the new measures and decisions of the FEC as soon as he has been briefed.

Janez Jansa then informed journalists that the Slovene government was briefed today on the current situation in Yugoslavia. He said that on the basis of information from circles close to the Army leadership, from articles in the domestic and foreign press, and from reports by diplomatic representatives, the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] is considering two variations for resolving the Yugoslav crisis. Jansa said that both variants incorporate the altered situation after the events in Serbia and the altered distribution of forces in the SFRY Presidency.

Jansa called the first solution the gentle variation. As he said, according to this variation, the JNA would make the demand for its direct attendance and active participation in talks on resolving the Yugoslav crisis regardless of whether these would be talks in the Yugoslav leadership or bilateral talks between the republics. According to this variation, Jansa said, the JNA would take control of the movement of the population, control of border crossings, naval and air traffic.

According to the second variation, which Jansa considers to be more radical, the JNA would carry out a classic military coup that would result in the dissolution of the Assembly, the government, and the Presidency and the replacement of key officials. This would be done with the support of members of local administration who have not yet been replaced and people from the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia. Jansa stressed that the aim would be to establish a civil-military administration and not to carry out a classic military coup [sentence as heard].

Kosovo President Rejects Sapundziju's Dismissal

LD1803230491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2152 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 18 (TANJUG)—Kosovo Presidency President Hisen Kajdomcaj assessed today's decision of the Serbian legislature under which Riza Sapundziju was relieved of membership in the Yugoslav State Presidency, as illegitimate and inacceptable.

In a letter sent to the Yugoslav State Presidency, as reported by the television network Yutel, Kajdomcaj assessed that the legislature of Serbia is not competent to appoint and relieve Riza Sapundziju, member of the Yugoslav State Presidency from Kosovo and the Kosovo presidency.

Kajdomcar claims that he and members of the Kosovo Presidency found out about the decisions of the Serbian legislature through the news media.

The Serbian legislature today, apart from the decision on relieving Riza Sapundziju of the function of Yugoslav State Presidency member, decided to suspend the work of the Presidency of the Province of Kosovo and Metohija of which Hisen Kajdomcaj was president.

Kosovo Presidency Suspended

AU1803132091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Milorad Jovic report]

[Text] In accord with acts on taking over the functions of the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija, the Serbian Assembly has dismissed Riza Sapundziju from his post as member of the SFRY Presidency. The results of the secret ballot are: 222 national deputies voted out of the 255 deputies in attendance, 207 voted in favor, 9 voted against, and there were 6 spoiled papers. The SFRY Presidency and SFRY Assembly will be informed of the decision of the republican legislature.

With one abstention and in an urgent procedure, the Serbian Assembly adopted a law on the suspension of the work of the Presidency of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija. The deputy Predrag Petrovic proposed that the same law be applied to the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, too. This proposal will be discussed at one of the next sessions of the republican legislature.

The Serbian Assembly finished its work exactly two minutes ago.

Presidency Abolition Protested

LD1803184191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1719 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Pristina, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—The Democratic Alliance [Demokratski Savez] and the Peasant Party [Seljacka Stranka] of Kosovo described as "unconstitutional and an act of usurpation" the decision of the Serbian Assembly to abolish the presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and to relieve Riza Sapundziju of his post in Yugoslavia's top state body.

In a joint statement, the two largest political parties of Albanians in Kosovo say: "In addition to our firm protest against this move, we also wish to state that we only recognize as representatives of Kosovo in federal bodies the officials elected by the legitimate assembly of Kosovo; at the same time we only recognize as legitimate those bodies elected in a lawful way."

The statement goes on to stress that "this move is not directed against Kosovo alone but also against Yugoslavia and its legitimate institutions."

"The decision of the Serbia Assembly clearly reveals Serbia's concept of autonomous provinces as well as a desire to make them instruments of its hegemonistic policy. This move is part of the efforts to block the work of the SFRY Presidency and to prevent Kosovo and the Albanians from expressing their political will," the statement concludes.

The Democratic Alliance and the Peasant Party of Kosovo call on the Presidency of Yugoslavia to "provide conditions for the normal functioning of Kosovo's legally elected representatives."

Kosovo Delegation Warns Belgrade Students

LD1803221591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1913 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Statement by Belgrade Students' Alliance Chairman Aleksandar Nikacevic issued in Belgrade on 18 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—The aim of student demonstrations was to struggle for freedom of speech and objective information. Over the past few days, we were not trying to topple the government, the president of the republic [of Serbia], and the [Serbian] Assembly. On the contrary, we have contributed to the preservation of democracy and to reconciliation between the government and the opposition. We have done everything to make the ruling party less stubborn and the opposition less impertinent.

Nikacevic said this in talks with a delegation of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, who are concerned about the situation in Belgrade. Members of the delegation came to Belgrade, as they said, to convey their concern over the situation whereby "the government that brought peace to Kosovo is being toppled in the capital city."

"The future of Kosovo is linked to this Serbian leadership, because we have felt freedom for the first time, with them in power. Hence you should not be surprised that Slobodan Milosevic's picture is an icon for us in Kosovo," delegation member Milica Bojanic said this evening.

"We are calling on you to dissociate yourselves from demands made by Vuk Draskovic, whom we consider to be the worst traitor to the Serbian people. Do not let yourselves be misled by persons such as Zoran Djindjic and the like. We should support Serbian generals, Borisav Jovic, and particularly Slobodan Milosevic," Zarko Radulovic, an employee of Elektroprivreda

Kosova [Kosovo Power Industry] said. He advised the students not to participate in "various demonstrations in Belgrade" and not to allow "different journalists to report events without students' agreement."

Bosnia Urges Dialogue To Settle Crisis

LD1803220791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2126 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Sarajevo, March 18 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina on Monday evening again urged for the current political and constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia to be settled through democratic dialogue and without the use of force.

As announced, the republican presidency supported the efforts of the majority in the country's state leadership that the federal legislature be informed about the talks so far on the future of Yugoslavia.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership intended also [words indistinct] to its representative in the Yugoslav Presidency Bogic Bogicevic, whose dismissal was called for by the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), the second largest party in the republican legislature.

At the Yugoslav Presidency session Bogicevic came out against the proposal of the staff of the supreme command of the armed forces to "raise the alert of the armed forces."

The SDS warned that "Croatia had powerful para-military units aimed at Serbs" and urged the implementation of the January 9 Presidency of Yugoslavia order to disarm such units.

Bosnian Democratic Party Supports Jovic

LD1803112191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0939 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Sarajevo, March 18 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party (S.D.P) [SPS] in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today lent "full support" to the stands held by president of the presidency of Yugoslavia Borisav Jovic who tendered his resignation on Friday night.

The S.D.P. released a statement upholding "all efforts" invested by Serbia and its president Slobodan Milosevic to "take the adequate counter-measures" to ensure "the security of the Serbian state, the citizens of Serbia and Serbs living outside Serbia"."

The statement quotes that the Repulbic of Croatia has "powerful para-military formations" directed "exclusively against the Serbian people."

The S.D.P. for Bosnia-Hercegovina condemns the "blockade of the work of the Presidency of Yugoslavia," which it views as the reason why the para-military formations have not been disarmed.

The S.D.P. is the second strongest party in the legislature of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It rallies Serbs who, according to the 1981 census, account for 32 percent of the population of this central Yugoslav republic.

Moslems account for about 40 percent of Bosnia-Hercegovina's population and are mainly rallied around the Party of Democratic action.

Croats account for 17 percent of the republic's population and are rallied round the Croatian Democratic Union.

Tupurkovski Says Presidency Favors Negotiations

LD1803162291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1124 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Report on news conference by SFRY Presidency member Vasil Tupurkovski with unidentified foreign and domestic reporters at the international press center on 18 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—The legal and constitutional system do not foresee the possibility of a vacuum or a blockade of the SFRY Presidency. The SFRY Constitution contains provisions for any situation and the Presidency is continuing its work in keeping with the Constitution.

This announcement was made by Vasil Tupurkovski, [Macedonian] member of the SFRY Presidency, during today's conference for domestic and foreign journalists at the international press center. Opening the conference, Tupurkovski said that he had been charged with speaking on behalf of the Presidency, and told over 120 journalists, who packed the premises of the international press center, that the highest state services of Yugoslavia will be available for any queries raised by the press over the next few days.

Having greeted the journalists in English, Tupurkovski recalled the stands of the session of the SFRY Presidency of 16 March—especially the one that political problems in Yugoslavia must be resolved by political means, in a peaceful and democratic way. The Presidency met to discuss the resignation of President Borisav Jovic, but also, he added, "to make it quite clear that we are working in keeping with the SFRY Constitution and that provisions have been made for the situation that has arisen."

In Tupurkovski's words, the SFRY Presidency is insisting on stepping up the negotiating process between the republics and provinces in the SFRY Presidency and called for a new round of talks on 21 March. Negotiations are proceeding slowly, and there are no immediate results. We are aware that there are no other alternatives, however, and we are doing everything we can to ensure that the session can take place on 21 March.

At its session on 16 March, Turpurkovski went on, the Presidency gave full support to the Federal Executive

Council to ensure the minimum functioning of the Federation in the transitional period and noted the resignation of the president of the Presidency, assessing it as a personal act. The SFRY Presidency, he added, is not able to and does not agree with the explanation for the resignation.

At sessions on 12, 14, and 15 March, the Presidency, in its capacity as Supreme Command, considered proposals by the headquarters and decided, in a democratic way and on the basis of personal and collective responsibility, not to accept them, insisting on a political resolution to the crisis as the only realistically possible solution. In the process the Presidency remains intact and rejects the explanation for the resignation of President Jovic.

The Presidency did not express its views on, and cannot agree with, the assessment concerning distrust of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], because it did not accept the proposal of the Supreme Command Headquarters. It is within the authority of the headquarters to propose, and within the authority of the Presidency to formulate a standpoint and make it a decision. This situation is completely clear and in keeping with the federal Constitution.

Political circumstances in the country are delicate, Tupurkovski pointed out. We are investing great efforts in stabilizing the work of the Presidency and in ensuring the presence of the representatives of all the republics and provinces at the session on 21 March. The work of the Presidency, in his assessment, cannot be blocked legally because there is no constitutional basis for this. It is clear to everyone, however, that the present and long-term consequences of the current situation are very difficult.

We appreciate the support Yugoslavia is receiving in the international community regarding its unity and territorial integrity, as well as its advocacy of a peaceful and democratic outcome to the crisis. "We do not consider this to be interference in internal affairs," he stressed.

Tupurkovski then said that the Presidency requested a session of the Federal Assembly and decided to convene an extended session of the SFRY Presidency with the republican and provincial presidents to consider the current situation. This is something different from a debate on the political future of the country, he specified.

To a question from a 'TIMES' journalist as to what kind of reaction there has been by the military leadership to the rejection of its proposals, Tupurkovski replied that in the last two days, and today up to 1000, "we have not secured contact with the main headquarters."

I have had talks with the other Presidency members, including Vice President Mesic, and we expect a report from the main headquarters on its assessment of the situation after 15 March. We can be neither satisfied nor happy with the present situation. We expect that the main headquarters, in keeping with the constitutional role of the JNA, will report to the SFRY Presidency, as the Supreme Command, on its assessments.

Replying to a question from a journalist of Belgrade's 'SVETA' on whether, prior to Jovic's resignation, a constitutional or rather military putsch was carried out in Slovenia and Croatia as a result of the foundation of republican armies and the refusal of recruits to go to the JNA, Tupurkovski said that there must be a legal and political reaction to the problems. We must respond to the fact of the formation of paramilitary formations by applying the Constitution and laws, but also by political means, in the framework of an agreement on the political future of the country.

We would be bringing very little logic to bear, Tupurkovski said, if we were to investigate who was first to start the constitutional putsches. He believes that in qualitative terms all the republics have carried out a constitutional putsch in Yugoslavia. In quantative terms, he assessed, Serbia, Slovenia, and Croatia have done this most, adding in English "not necessarily in this order."

In connection with a question from a reporter from India, Tupurkovsi repeated that the SFRY Presidency does not accept measures proposed by the Supreme Command headquarters because the measures do not lead to emergence from the crisis. "In this process the Presidency did not consider its own previous measures and decisions and hence cannot accept that it carried out their negation." The Presidency does not intend to engage in polemics with the president of the Presidency, but requests a session of the Federal Assembly when it is evident from the shorthand notes who advocated what at the session of the Supreme Command.

To a question from a journalist of the U.S. agency UPI as to whether the military leadership is not obeying the SFRY Presidency and whether the statement by Slobodan Milosevic represents a violation of the federal Constitution, Tupurkovski replied first of all that "the Presidency has not in an official way formulated a viewpoint on its relations with the main headquarters. We expect its assessment, but the Presidency cannot be satisfied by the absence of even elementary communications in the past two days." We expect, he added, the establishment of a regular constitutional situation regarding the role of the JNA—in other words, the main headquarters.

The SFRY Presidency, Tupurkovski went on, has not defined an official stance in relation to Milosevic's statement. Nevertheless, it is the unofficial view of the Presidency that this statement has serious consequences, and that it is irrelevant from a constitutional and legal point of view with respect to the functioning of the SFRY Presidency. It is not possible for anyone in Yugoslavia to achieve the degradation of democratic tendencies.

The SFRY Presidency hopes that its initiative will be accepted for a meeting with all presidents of republics

and provinces, so the current situation can be assessed and the continuity of the negotiating process ensured, said Tupurkovski.

He thinks, however that the SFRY Presidency has a quorum and can work in its present structure.

Asked what would happen if Riza Sapundziju is dismissed, he answered that a member of the SFRY Presidency can only be dismissed by the same assembly that appointed him.

As far as journalists' dilemmas are concerned—does the military leadership recognize the Presidency? Tupurkovski answered that he is "not prepared to impose a qualification of insubordination on the general staff—in other words the Federal Secretariat for National Defense."

Asked a direct question—whether there is any contact with Federal Secretary Kadijevic—he said that "Kadijevic has no contact with us for the time being." He did not attend yesterday's session of the FEC, but contacts between the federal government and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense are within the jurisdiction of either the prime minister or the government itself.

As far as the Army going onto the streets on 9 March is concerned, Tupurkovski said that the JNA units had been under regular command and that they had received no orders either for the use of force or for any contact with demonstrators. He added that the SFRY Presidency had no contact or communication with the Serbian leadership over the demonstrations in Belgrade and the brutal use of force.

Asked about the legal situation—if only four members were to remain in the Presidency—Tupurkovski reiterated that a member of the Presidency can only be dismissed by the republican or provincial assembly that elected him and noted that "matters will have to be sorted out before the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, where a procedure is already under way for discussing the measures of Serbia that suspended Kosovo's legal organs."

A member of the SFRY Presidency who is dismissed by a republican or provincial assembly is replaced by the president of that republic or province. Consequently, he noted, there can be no legal blockade.

Political blockade is another matter. We are fighting to overturn it, said Tupurkovski.

In response to a question from a journalist from Germany's ZDF television as to whether military intervention is expected, Tupurkovski said that a violation of the Constitution cannot be eliminated merely through the efforts of the Presidency.

"We expect that the military leadership will continue to respect the Constitution. The SFRY Presidency insists that all subjects, including the main headquarters of the JNA, adhere to the Constitution."

In connection with a question from a reporter from THE FINANCIAL TIMES about rumors of the resignation of Blagoje Adzic, JNA chief of general staff, Tupurkovski said that the Presidency has not been informed about this, but that it has become acquainted with the denial by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense in the media. We have not, he added, been discussing personnel changes.

A journalist from NARODNA ARMIJA was interested to know whether there is any truth in the allegations that the JNA has been advocating a military coup and whether there can be negotiations on carrying out an order from the SFRY Presidency. Tupurkovski replied to this that the Army leadership proposed measures in keeping with the Constitution, but the Presidency had not accepted them. The Presidency does not propose negotiations on carrying out its order, but is conscious of the consequences if an agreement with Croatia on the implementation of the order is not carried out. The Presidency has both the right to and responsibility for the overall effects even of its own decisions, he said.

Replying to a question from a reporter of an Austrian agency, Tupurkovski explained that there has been no disagreement between the Presidency and the main headquarters over the assessment of the situation, "but the Presidency decided that the effects of the proposed measures do not correspond to the stabilization of the political situation and the further stimulation of democratic processes."

"The Army proposals are based on the Constitution and laws, but the effects are assessed by the SFRY Presidency," Tupurkovski said.

To a question about his thesis of "an unprincipled coalition" at the 17th session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, Tupurkovski recalled that it was used because of "the exemplary punishment meted out to one member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium."

Tupurkovski connected this remark of his with the democratization of cadre policy and the processes of overall democratization which resulted.

"What is happening now is also the further struggle for strengthening democratic relations," Tupurkovski said.

Asked by a Spanish journalist about the possibility of the Serbian president replacing the current member of the SFRY Presidency from Serbia, Tupurkovski said that "the place in the Presidency is not based on personal affinity, but rather on constitutional duties".

According to him, Serbia must think carefully about its participation in the SFRY Presidency, as this cannot be reduced to mere personal preferences.

Asked if the Presidency is still subject to international law, Tupurkovski pointed out that the Presidency has

had no report about any of the factors in international relations having changed their attitude to Yugoslavia's subjectivity.

The Presidency continues to function in international activities in the usual way and has not considered it necessary to cancel its international commitments. At this moment our federal secretary for foreign affairs is on a diplomatic mission abroad. No one is questioning the Presidency's right and constitutional powers to represent Yugoslavia. On the contrary, we have been receiving positive indications and support from abroad, especially from European institutions, Tupurkovski said.

An APA reporter asked about the content of a message received today from the U.S. State Department.

"We have been informed that their stand reaffirms the United States's positive attitude to Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and the work of the federal services. This was not the case of direct communication between the two administrations, but rather of an indirect contact through the State Department message," Tupurkovski said, adding that in its third main point the State Department insists on a democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

"A 48-hour deadline set by Jovic and the Army head for Croatia to disarm its paramilitary formations expires today," noted the 'TIMES' reporter. In response, Tupurkovski explained that no deadline existed, but that Jovic merely came up with a proposal at the Presidency's session of 15 March. Tupurkovski stressed that he had no report about possible contacts between Jovic and Milosevic on one hand and the Army head on the other.

Asked about the unity of the military leadership during the three-day session of the Supreme Command, Tupurkovski said: "We are convinced that the Army head is compact."

Political differences are a different matter, he said, but went on to add in conclusion that those who took part in the debate on the Army side continuously, and without any differences, advocated identical standpoints.

Seeks Political Solution

LD1803132891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1237 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 18 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency is making efforts to secure the presence of all its members at its next session scheduled for March 21, Presidency member from the Republic of Macedonia, Vasil Tupurkovski told a press conference here today.

Tupurkovski said that the presidency "cannot agree with the assessment that it has no confidence in the Yugoslav Army because it has not adopted the orientation of the Supreme Command Staff.

The staff is empowered to make proposals, but the Presidency, as the supreme commander, makes decisions, Tupurkovski said, adding that this is in keeping with the Yugoslav Constitution.

Tupurkovski, one of the five remaining members of the eight- member collective head of state, said that the Presidency supports the federal government's efforts to secure the minimum functioning of the Yugoslav state after agreement is reached about the new organization of the country.

Presidency President Borisav Jovic resigned last Friday maintaining that the country is heading toward a civil war after the recommendations by the Supreme Command staff were rejected.

The resignation of Jovic, who is the representative of the biggest republic of Serbia, was followed by resignations from the representatives of Montenegro and Vojvodina province.

Tupurkovski reiterated the Presidency's insistence that the country's political problems be resolved only through political means and in a democratic way.

Tupurkovski said that the members' participation in the work of the federal Presidency is an obligation under the constitution, and not a "matter of personal affinity", and that the leadership of Serbia should take care about its participation in the work of the collective head of state.

Tupurkovski also opposed the "blockade of the work of the Presidency" and assessed that the current developments in the country would have grave consequences in the long run.

Tupurkovski highly esteemed the support of the international community for the preservation of the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. "We do not consider it as interference in internal affairs", said the member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

Ethinc Albanians Cross Into Macedonia

LD1803145391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Skopje, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—This morning at 1000, near the village of Golo Brdo in the vicinity of Debar, the Yugoslav-Albanian border was crossed by 280 citizens of Albania: Macedonians of Muslim faith, for whom the local inhabitants of the Debar villages of Dzepiste and Otisani provided a cordial welcome.

This is the second group of Macedonian Muslims that has crossed from Albania into the SFRY at the village of Golo Brdo, and according to eyewitnesses the meeting with Macedonians from this side of the border was exceptionally moving.

The Macedonians who fled today from Albania come from the villages of Trebiste, Malo, Golemo Ostreni, Tucepi, and Vladimirica. According to them, even more

numerous arrivals of Macedonians from Albania of the Orthodox and Muslim faiths are expected over the next few days. Their demands and wishes are for the liberalization of border crossings, the opening of schools in Macedonian, and material aid to Macedonians in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania by the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Journalists Voice Support for Independent Press

LD1803185691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1649 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—POLITIKA is a national institution and nobody can usurp it. These words of Predrag Milojevic, doyen of Serbian journalism, represent the gist of today's two-hour POLITIKA independent journalists' peaceful protest meeting, which was held in a crowded hall of the youth center. The meeting turned into a public support for free and nonparty- affiliated journalism, which was expressed by numerous widely known intellectuals of Belgrade who took the floor more frequently than journalists themselves.

The meeting was opened by Aleksandr Tijanic, followed by the reading out of POLITIKA independent journalists' message to the Serbian public. It demands the replacement of POLITIKA director Zivorad Minovic and chief editors Slobodan Jovanovic, Teodor Andjelic, Petar Jankovic, Ljiljana Bulatovic and others—and the change of the complete editorial policy.

After an explanation that the meeting place was changed "because of Zivorad Minovic's threats that workers will forcefully deal with the journalists," Dragos Jovanovic of the Independent Trade Union expressed his anxiety over the moral and financial decline of the POLITIKA publishing house.

Although it can be seen that the beginning of an early journalist spring is in the offing, it is also clear that nothing has changed—this was stated by Dusan Simic, who announced that journalists will fight for the freedom of speech at their protests, even through a general strike if necessary. [passage omitted]

BORBA journalists and the Independent Journalists' Society of Vojvodina supported their colleagues and Belgrade intellectuals' appeal was read out and applauded.

Greek Envoy Ordered To Leave Country

LD1803195491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1906 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Mar (TANJUG)—TANJUG learned today that the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has asked the Embassy of the Republic of Greece to instruct its diplomat Vassilios Liontos from the Consulate of the Republic of Greece in Skopje to leave the territory of the SFRY within 15 days.

This measure was taken in response to Greece's decision to deny hospitality to Yugoslav diplomat Sasko Todorovski, the vice-consul in the SFRY consulate in Thessalonika.

The Greek ambassador in Belgrade, Karayiannis, was told about Yugoslavia's surprise at a belated interpretation of the whole incident. When it decided to deny hospitality to Torodorvski, the Greek side did not say that his activities had been incompatible with his diplomatic functions. In a statement today, a Greek Government spokesman cited Todorovski's "activities concerning the nonexistent Macedonian issue" as the reason for his expulsion, insisting that Todorovski's replacement "cannot be from Skopje".

In its demarche today, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs firmly rejected all accusations as blatant interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs and a sign of disrespect for its constitutional system. This is an attempt to disrupt the main principles of relations between the two countries. The Greek side was warned on several occasions before that it would be held solely responsible for the consequences of its conduct.